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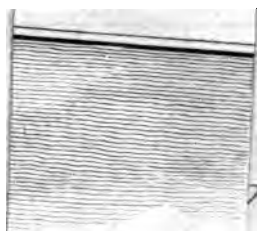
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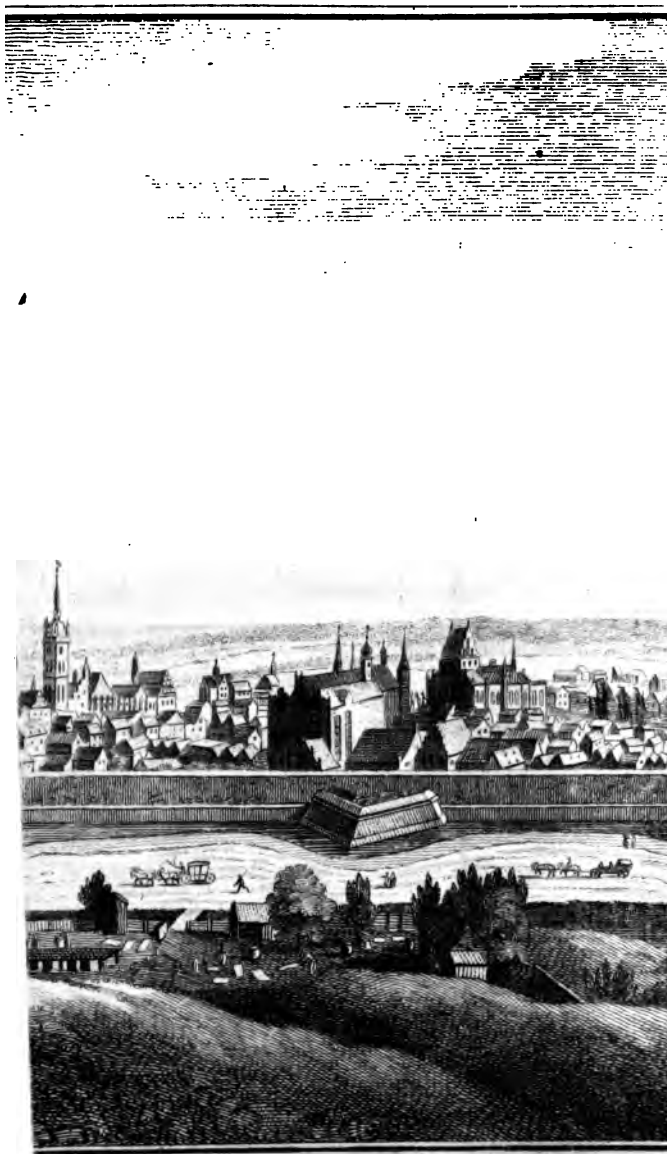
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Stålberg, Georg Georgsson

A N

HISTORY

Tricks OF THE LATE *Heaven*

REVOLUTION in SWEDEN,

Which happened on the 19th of August, 1772.

CONTAINING,

IN THREE PARTS,

The ABUSES, and the BANISHMENT,
of LIBERTY, in that Kingdom.

WRITTEN BY

A GENTLEMAN WHO WAS A SWEDE,

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

M,DCC,LXXVI.

66

77

To you, good Gods, I make my last appeal;
Or clear my virtues, or my crimes reveal;
If in the maze of fate I blindly run,
And backward tread those paths I sought to shun:
Impute my errors to your own decree;
My hands are guilty, but my heart is free.

SPECTATOR.

DEDICATION

TO THE
LOVERS of LIBERTY.

GENTLEMEN,

AN unlimited regard for freedom, and ardent zeal in endeavouring to deserve your love, and to imitate your generous sentiments, which heighten the beauty of your known ingenuity: hath induced me to impart to a free people, in this volume, an interesting review of events relating to the late revolution in Sweden; which I humbly beg leave, GENTLEMEN, to dedicate to
a 2 you,

you, as the first-fruits of my labours, ripened on the British ground, and favoured by a mild temperature of its climate.

It is but eleven months, since the remainders of my existence were thrown on the British coasts ; by a naufrage, caused by those most destructive violences of that dreadful storm, which crushed states, made councils of men fluctuate, and exposed their most inestimable properties, even liberty itself, to be devoured by those haughty waves of an insatiable ocean.

Being yet at my arrival entirely ignorant of the English language : it is during this short interval, and under an assiduous application for the learning of it, I thus have endeavoured

DEDICATION. v

deavoured to merit your countenance, as well by gathering the materials, as by composing the work itself. And though it may appear void of those pleasing ornaments, which have yet been far beyond the reach of my youth: the shortness of time will plead in my favour, and a riper age, countenanced by delightful fates, and attended with accomplished talents, shall allow me to supply in future what is beyond the expectation of the present time.

GENTLEMEN, as this is the most authentic proof I can advance, of my unreserved well-wishes to mankind in general, and of my impartial attachment to your interest in particular: may it even be a motive sufficiently strong, and worthy, to

a 3 effect

vi DEDICATION,

effect your relish for the work, and
your further favour and protection
towards,

GENTLEMEN,

Your

Most faithful,

Most obliged,

Most humble,

and

Obedient servant,

The Author.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE enemies of liberty, and the friends of despotism, will, no doubt, be disposed to make severe attacks upon this work, as well as upon its author. But, as it would be far below him to fear the censure, so he abhors the principles of such men, as are so manifestly hostile to themselves and to mankind. And though he might easily obviate most of their objections; yet he chuses rather to introduce the history itself, without further preface on this subject.

It seems to be a vulgar opinion, respecting revolutions, that they are only a sudden change in the political affairs of a state, attended with more or less striking amazement, as the alteration is more or less considerable. A deeper research, however,

x INTRODUCTION.

ever, will discover in the greatest part of revolutions, philosophical, political, and moral causes, of the most extensive nature, co-operating in a determined series of time, and uniformly conspiring to produce the intended event. Thus, the revolution of Sweden was accomplished, after the machinations of no less than eighteen years; after numberless struggles had been made, and briberies practised, now secretly, and then more openly, with various success.

The flames being once kindled, they were frequently supplied by the court with new fuel; and, every commotion being eagerly supported by all those who were either the real or pretended favourites of the court, the scheme was at last executed on the 19th of August 1772: an event that was the more astonishing to the whole world, as it was the least of all to be expected at that time.

To

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To trace a complete idea of this alteration of government, which was more hurtful than advantageous to the Swedes, will be difficult, though by no means impossible, as some have thought it, however much the affairs of Sweden were at that time involved, not only with regard to their neighbours and other foreign powers, but also, in a more particular manner, with respect to their own internal situation.

A previous knowledge, therefore, of the police, the laws, the customs, and manners of the Swedes, as well as of their situation abroad, at the very time of the revolution, is absolutely necessary to those who would form a proper judgment of this revolution. This knowledge, however, can only be superficially acquired from the histories of Sweden, written at a time when the liberty of the press either did not exist at all, or was too much limited by rigorous laws and severe penalties,

xii INTRODUCTION.

nalties, to afford any annals of truth and importance.

I shall, therefore, divide the following short history into three parts. The first contains a compendious and general view of the state of the Swedish affairs abroad, immediately before the revolution. In the second, an account is given of the constitution of their government, their laws, charters, customs, and manners, particularly as they had been debased by the corruption and degeneracy of some of the inhabitants, in their private as well as public conduct. In the third, the revolution itself, or the introduction of despotism, shall be considered as the most natural offspring of that general corruption, which was increased by the profligacy of a court, that aimed at nothing else but uncontrollable despotic rule. Finally, a detail is given of the present ruinous state of Sweden ; particularly, in respect to its commerce ; the trade, customs,

INTRODUCTION. xiii

doms, and manners of the Finlanders and Laplanders.

A history of this kind must be interesting and useful to every nation of Europe, but especially to those in whom the sacred love of liberty as yet remains inviolated ; the more so, as the slavery lately introduced into Sweden, was obtruded upon the people, by means of the most seditious intrigues, and facilitated by the most bloody transactions, prepared at that time, for the greatest part of European countries.

Those nations, therefore, who enjoy the most perfect freedom, but, in similar cases, may be in danger of being reduced to the meanest slavery, may, by reading an account of the faults and imprudencies of others, collect those maxims of wisdom, which are the surest foundation of a free government, and which will teach them by what means they may avoid

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void the errors of other nations, in order to escape their unhappy fate.

In the mean time, it is not my intention to blame any form of government, as relative to other nations, seeing there is none that may not be productive of happiness, when suited to the genius and temper of the people, and conducted by wise and virtuous rulers.

The subject being in itself entertaining, interesting, and curious, will not stand in need of those flowers of eloquence, which are embellishments unavoidably necessary only to those works, which depend entirely on the borrowed beauty of the language, for pleasing the reader. Instead of which, the author wishes, and humbly begs leave, to satisfy the more refined taste of a delicate reader, merely with interesting facts, supported by the force of truth, and confirmed by an evidence inseparable from their nature.

If

INTRODUCTION. xv

If his wishes correspond with the expectation of the public: it shall, in future, be his utmost ambition to enable himself, for the performance of further services more important to Britain; since the Swedish literature, hitherto almost unknown to this country, will afford him variety of objects, worthy the zeal, and satisfactory to the curiosity, of the learned Britons.



A N
H I S T O R Y
OF THE LATE
REVOLUTION in SWEDEN.

P A R T I.

Concerning the Swedish affairs abroad, before the revolution.

DESPOTISM being once before introduced in Sweden, in the reign of Charles the XI. in the year 1671, and still continued during the reign of his successor Charles the XII. was, since the death of this monarch, in 1718, almost abolished, and the shadow of liberty restored to the Swedish people. The

A Swedes,

Swedes, in establishing now the new fundamental constitution, and endeavouring to avoid former inconveniences resulting from the king's unlimited power, went, on the other side, to as dangerous an extreme, in resigning the same unlimited power, possessed before by one king, to the senate, consisting most commonly of only twelve senators, noblemen of the first rank. The four states, *viz.* the representatives of Sweden, had also, by the new introduced form of government, in course of time, scarcely more than the name of sharing in the supreme power. The senate, therefore, were, in fact, arbitrary managers of the supreme, legislative, judicatory, and executory power. So little, indeed, was Sweden now, in this latter case, provided against the despotism of many, that, instead of being, during the despotism of one king, and, in case of corruption, exposed to the tyranny of one; they now, on the other hand, and in a similar

similar case of corruption, were exposed to the tyranny of twelve or more senators. Sweden and the neighbouring powers did prove it in both the periods and cases; under equal oppression and bloodshed; as in the following pages, and chiefly in the second part of this treatise, shall be shown, by giving a more circumstantial description of the Swedish constitutions, and the execution of them, as maintained, whether by the senate, or its adherents and favourites.

The new form of government thus composed by the senate, in the year 1719; was not yet, to its full extent, accepted by the queen Ulrica Eleonora; who succeeded her brother Charles the XII.; but soon after, she being married to the prince Frederick of Hesse Cassel, to whom, by the marriage, the kingdom was devolved, the senators easily extorted the new elected king's consent to a form of government, which, in all its extent agreed to,

was the king's road to obtaining the crown: as likewise, his successor, the late king Adolphus Frederick, gained, on the same conditions, his election of being king in Sweden.

The better to settle themselves for the time to come, in an uninterrupted possession of the supreme power, the senate requested the neighbouring powers guarantee to the established form of government. By the treaties of peace between Sweden and Russia, concluded at Nyftad and Abo, in the years 1721 and 1743, amongst several other articles then granted by Russia, a guarantee was allowed for the enacted fundamental laws of Sweden: and, at the congress at Hamburgh 1720, the same laws were (as before by Russia) now by Denmark and Prussia recognized; and in 1723, on the diet at Sweden, further proposed and accepted all over the kingdom.—Several provinces formerly belonging to Sweden, as Lifland, Estland, Ingermanland, Kexholm,

holm, Carelia, and Wyburg, were resigned to Russia. Prussia got some part of Pomerania. To Denmark was adjudged, besides the territories of Bremen and Werdén, the duty payable at the passage of Categat. Lands possessed in America, the Swedes being in want of money, were sold to England for considerable sums. Upon these principles of Sweden's situation abroad, was also the Swedes attention chiefly fixed in forming the outlines of the last revolution, in as much as the consequences of it were supposed to influence the interest of the above-mentioned foreign states: and none of the European states, France and the Turk excepted, could seemingly, in this regard, escape their utmost attention.

Italy, during the former monarchical government of Sweden, having lost its interest and influence in that kingdom, was supposed, rather to dislike, than agree with the restoration of a Swedish monarchy.

chy. Austria, which, under the reign of absolute Swedish kings, had suffered many unhappy fates of the German wars, their dominions having been the theatre of tumult and bloodshed, was supposed to resist a change of government; which, in course of time, possibly might put the Swedes in a situation once more to open a bloody scene on the German territories. But the neighbouring powers were considered as the chief object, and as the whole of politics abroad. Lifland was now possessed by Russia, but had formerly been Sweden's only place of supply in want of corn, and still continued to be so far necessary to them, that Sweden annually was supplied from Riga and Revel with no less than millions of tons; since the æconomical laws of Sweden, in some measure, prohibited their own grounds from being cultivated; which made the inhabitants, particularly of the northern provinces, thoroughly want the necessaries at home, and

and accordingly as much depend upon Russia. All these circumstances, not to mention more interesting motives, in respect to agriculture, were sufficient to engage the attention of the Swedish ministry. With regard to commerce, Peterburgh and the rest of the Russian maritime towns, were looked upon as vast trading places ; thither all trade formerly carried on in Sweden was removed ; particularly, since the late discovery of iron mines in Russia ; the most ample exportation of which metal, and all other kinds of commodities, being permitted, induced the trading countries of Europe to export from Russia, with greater advantages such country productions as they formerly were accustomed to export only from Sweden. Considering Russia, moreover, in the height of its flourishing state, wealth, and power, to which, by what means soever, they might have been raised upon Sweden's ruin ; they also, in pursuing the scheme of redress from such

a ruin, found their designs by no means practicable, but in destroying, or at least weakening, whether by wars or divisions, a power too formidable to be opposed, in case it had pretended to put a stop to a revolution threatening the destruction of a government guarantied by Russia.

In the year 1765, the Empress of Russia was engaged in giving written laws to her subjects, they hitherto having been governed by the almost arbitrary judgment of their rulers or judges. This great monarch, for wisdom and bravery, blended with the utmost clemency and generosity, equally beloved by her patriotic subjects, and admired by the world, had convoked, at the time above mentioned, to her metropolis, a number of representatives from each jurisdiction, and fundry cities within her realms, in order to consult them about the new laws to be enacted. The representatives were distinguished from the rest of the citizens, by certain immunities

immunities granted them for life, by which they were exempted from penalties or corporal punishments (usually inflicted on malefactors in that country), in order to inspire those representatives with courage and intrepidity, for managing their present business without fear, and with impartiality. The indemnity thus granted them, though, in its tendency, most laudable and useful, whenever vested in men of morals and good sentiments, served, on the other hand, to encourage the attempts of some discontented persons, to practise crimes, in hopes of immunity from any penalty whatsoever. At this very time, one Baron Ribbing, a Swedish nobleman, and colonel in the king of Sweden's service, resided at the court of Peterburgh, in quality of Swedish envoy-extraordinary: He did not fail to make use of the time; and, as much as it was in his power, turn the present critical circumstances to his advantage, whatever might have been the

the issue of his no less rude than ridiculous proceedings. This nobleman, who died at Peterburgh, plunged in debts and confusion, was, during his life, according to the Swedish laws, by his birth, and a small fortune, raised gradually to those important offices he was intrusted with; such places being, in Sweden, venal at that time. All his learning was founded upon the belles-lettres; and, though engaged in the king's service from his youth, he seldom carried on his employment, but by substitutes, and diverted himself with pleasures, enjoyed in the provincial courts of the governours. This sphere of life rendered him more qualified for petty intrigues, than fit for serious business; which latter, perhaps, by any other, supported by his enterprising genius, might have been amicably disposed of, to the common advantage of Sweden and Russia. Baron Ribbing was sent to the Russian court, as a man apparently attached

attached to the Russian party, and an antagonist of the French; which threw him under the necessity of managing all political matters, under a disguised appearance of friendship for Russia. This necessity grew the more unavoidable, as his master, the king Adolph Frederic of Sweden, knew too well his obligations to the Russian court, to the interposition of which he owed his crown and kingdom, for being able to embrace other measures in prosecuting the scheme of the revolution, than such as served to conceal any machination whatsoever, against the Russian interest.

At this very time, the king of Sweden's counsellors, too, or the plurality of the senators, were elected, on the diet 1764, amongst those noblemen who had the appearance of being wholly attached to the Russian party in Sweden. In the number of these, was one Baron Ribbing, brother to the envoy above-mentioned. In this mutual situation of Swedish and Russian

Russian affairs, the Swedish envoy-extraordinary, Baron Ribbing, arrived at Petersburg in the autumn 1766; he was received favourably, and entertained with the utmost marks of friendship: and he, too, seemed now to breathe nothing but adherence to the Russian interest.

The court of Russia, with the representatives above-mentioned, of that empire, appointed for finishing the new Russian laws, soon removed from Petersburg to Moscow, probably in view of more convenience for an undisturbed accomplishment of their business. Baron Ribbing followed the court after, in the month of February 1767; and his chief aim seemed, in all appearance, to be nothing else but an assiduous endeavour to acquire acquaintance and friends among the Russians, whose number, in the meanwhile, he considerably increased, though by expences equally exceeding his and his court's resources. Some of the Russian representatives

tatives at Moscow, believing themselves, by the act of indemnity aforesaid, beyond the reach of punishment, and being disgusted by some measures taken at the assembly, made an attempt of rebellion; but this, by the usual prudence and magnanimity of the empress, was soon appeased, without causing any uncommon disturbance in the Russian affairs: however, this rebellion, attempted at Moscow, was attended with some other events, perhaps more alarming to the Russian court; for, at the court of Poland, had, even at this time, dreadful confederacies begun to threaten the Russian interest. All these solitudes at Russia, did, however, afford the Swedes scarcely any more opportunity to forward their scheme of the Swedish revolution pitched upon, except some few establishments now made in Sweden, only to facilitate the execution of their scheme; the workmanship of which, was the liberty of the press, at this time established

blished in Sweden; and the law by which this liberty was warranted; was declared and reckoned amongst one of the national fundamental constitutions, in order, by such means, the better to secure them against any person whomsoever; but particularly, to prevent Russia, or any other neighbouring power, being guarantees of the Swedish fundamental constitution, from attempting to abolish this liberty of the press, though, in reality, warranted by a law, in itself only additional, and unhappily never before existed amongst the charters of the realm. Notwithstanding this liberty being the most sacred, and thus secured in the best manner, few, or none at all, in the beginning, were found in Sweden, who had either knowledge or courage enough to make the intended use of the press; the danger hitherto having been too great amongst that people, only by words to communicate certain truths, even to their best friends.—What danger might

might not then have been expected to ensue long-concealed truths, if laid down by writings, and in a manner to be discovered, not only to contemporaries, but perhaps to the latest posterity.—Now, the favourites of France, then those of Russia, dreaded, on one hand, the resentments of these their foreign leaders, rewarders, and protectors; on the other hand, again, they more justly feared the revenge of their intrepid fellow-citizens, in case they now might be awakened from that profound ignorance, which, for several centuries, had lulled them asleep. Such considerations did not fail to strike the court-favourites, senators, and some of the rest of the nobility or officers, with the utmost consternation; the more so, as, in the meanwhile, there arose some spirited young gentlemen of the country, who, indeed, having got a moderate education at the universities, but owing, either to a disregard for merit, or to the universal

versal oppression then prevailing, had been employed to no public service, and consequently been out of the way, either to share in the common crimes, or to practise public virtue: those gentlemen, no less exasperated by so universal an outrage, than inspired by an uncommon zeal for redress, and safety of a country thus ravaged, began now to write openly, what they formerly, as plunged in blind superstition, might have fancied an irreconcilable sin to think about. The truth, never wanting common assent, when once discovered, was soon universally received. The court, on the one hand, as much dreading the loss of a crown, no less justly transferable to any other, * than easily obtained

* The commander in chief, Hessenstein, who, by the Lady Taub, is a legitimate son of the Swedish king Frederick the I. of Hesse Cassel, pretends a claim to the crown by hereditary right. But his family having, in that kingdom, been partly extirpated, partly oppressed, and thus reduced to a state beyond the reach of being able to influence the state in his favour; all commotions, made with a view to support the pretended rights of this family, have proved abortive.

tained by its possessor, if the nobility of the higher ranks should be reduced to distress, and would, consequently, look for safety any where else, than in that order of succession to the Swedish crown, which was established in the year 1743; so, on the other hand, these noblemen, reflecting how small their number was, when compared with that of the rest of the citizens, and how much, besides, this number, was weakened by divisions, for being able any longer to counter-balance, not only a court, but a people too, by whom they began now to be rendered equally despised and hated: These very considerations, united the views of a great number of the nobility, and engaged them to adopt, or, at least, approve, such measures as might allow them to reap a common interest with the court, whatever might have been the loss of the rest of the nobility or commons. Nothing now remained for them more interesting, than

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to employ all means imaginable, in order to bring the affairs abroad, into a situation suitable for any happy change in the public affairs, within the Swedish boundaries. —We may, for a short while, leave Russia, and, in the mean while, regard the situation of Sweden at the other neighbouring courts.

Denmark was, in the year 1766, allied to Sweden, the princess Sophia Magdalena, the king of Denmark's sister, being espoused by the crown prince, the present king Gustavus the III. of Sweden. The princess was no sooner introduced at Sweden, than, by her charms, adorned with the most accomplished royal virtues, she attracted the regard of her new subjects, and met, with the universal applause and veneration of all the inhabitants. The most part of the nobility of each respective kingdom, nevertheless, persisted in their inveterate jealousy, defiance and hatred, towards one another. But some of the
Swedish

Swedish nobility, considering the court of their country, by this marriage, too much strengthened, grew attentive to that point; and endeavoured to weaken the court-party, no less by oppressing the royalists in their own country, than by attempting to inspire the Danes with the same sentiments, for resisting the equally increased force of the Danish court, in order that the relative force of each court separately considered, might be as much weakened, as the whole of them considered together, had, by the alliance of these courts, been strengthened. On such a political view, however in its nature impracticable, without damaging either the one of them, or the whole, the scheme, nevertheless, was to be carried on, even by those who supported patriotism. The Norwegians, dreading their being burdened with too heavy taxes, were discontented at this time, and wished for an opportunity of throwing off their yoke. Though they

were not entirely ignorant of those disorders which threw Sweden into a much worse situation, they, nevertheless, were easily persuaded, to expect any favour from a court, where a Danish princess not only was soon to mount the throne, but likewise her consort, a young Swedish prince, might, after his arrival to the management of the reins of government, soon afford them relief, by allowing them to be joined to a kingdom, more happy, in their opinion, than Denmark. Such sentiments were the more apt to flatter them, as, once before, in the fourteenth century, conform to the union of Kalmar, Sweden and Denmark had been united under a Danish queen, Margareta, to the great advantage of the Danes and Norwegians. The Swedes did not want an opportunity of inspiring or supporting any such sentiments at Norway, particularly at a time when the situation of the Norwegians was so critical: for, besides many
Swedes

Swedes dwelling in Norway, one of the Swedish senators, Count Bakfris, a zealous adherent to the French party, was possessed of lands in Norway, and, by this means, had an uninterrupted connection with the affairs which passed in that neighbouring kingdom; and he was thus no less enabled, than willing, to influence their opinion, without yet perceiving the issue of affairs, if once despotism should be introduced into Sweden; in which event, the interest of the king, and that of the senators, might be rendered totally inconsistent with each other. Thus, the Norwegian affairs were in such a situation, that not only nothing was to be feared by Sweden, from that part of the northern countries, but likewise, in case of such a revolt in Sweden, as might have given the least appearance of improving the Swedish government, the Norwegians had been sufficiently persuaded, rather to support the Swedes, in hopes of redress from the grievous Danish

taxations which they complained of, than to assist the Danes, in case of their attempting to oppose the progress of the Swedes undertaking to alter the constitution ; which, indeed, the Danes were obliged, as guarantees of Swedish liberty, to protect.

One circumstance may still more deserve to be mentioned, concerning the Danish affairs.----Some prerogatives of the Danish court had, during the reign of the late king, been in some respect abased, on account of the king's weak state of health, which gave his ministers opportunity of limiting his despotic power, and extending their own, without any other influence upon the rest of the nobility or commons, than their slavery being encreased in the same proportion as was augmented the number of tyrants, dividing amongst them, and reserving to themselves alone, the unlimited or despotic power. As the faults of a preceding

ceding government, commonly fall upon the successor to the throne ; so, his son and successor, the present king Christian the VII. after having ascended the Danish throne, could not avoid falling into those struggles, which use to be so common to kings succeeding too indulgent predecessors ; and endeavouring, at the risk of their lives or honour, to recover either their private interest, or even common welfare, lavished by their predecessors, in gratifying their passions, merely within a small circle of the most villanous flatterers. Thus, the nobility of Denmark, too, enraged by jealousy towards the increasing force of their court, since the Danish princess had been married to the king of Sweden, endeavoured also to oppose all the designs of the court. The king of Denmark, proceeding at last, in the year 1771, to remove several of his privy counsellors from their offices, in order to provide those most important

places with men attached to his interest; such, far from strengthening his force, served only to increase the number of malecontents, the dismissed counsellors being ring-leaders of vast parties; so that the Danish king, at last, instead of being capable to put the least stop to the Swedish affairs, was, on the contrary, reduced to the utmost extremity, scarcely being able to save his own life, much less his distressed consort, or his best favourites; out of the number of which, the unfortunate Count Struensee, and Brandt, were beheaded before his eyes, under pretext of being the king's enemies; which, to this day, the simplicity of the greatest part of the Danish subjects allows them to believe, no body venturing, in that despotic state, to discourse about that or other similar matters. The Swedes, thus beyond the reach of being obstructed, or in the least troubled by the Danes, already too much occupied with their own mutual disorders,

disorders, were capable, with regard to Denmark, not only to accomplish the Swedish revolution; but likewise, after the king of Sweden had performed the revolution in Stockholm, he was, two months afterwards, with 12,000 men at Schone, a Swedish province, not far from Copenhagen, ready, either to take advantage of whatever might happen at the Danish court, or perhaps to defend the Danish king, in case his subjects had ventured to stretch their violence farther than to punish Struensee and Brandt; of which, the latter opinion seemed the more probable, as the Swedish king, having it in his power only to accept the offers of the Norway malecontents, for joining them to his dominions, is said to have only declared, that the reasons of his approaching the Danish frontiers, were not to weaken the king of Denmark's dominions, but, on the contrary, to confirm their friendship. With these sentiments,
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the king of Sweden might, in all probability, have been inspired by his consort, the queen of Sweden, she being the sister of the king of Denmark.

Before we return to the affairs regarding Russia, it may be more entertaining to consider previously the Swedish affairs in respect to France and Prussia.— In the end of the year 1770, the king of Sweden, crown prince at that time, set out from Sweden, together with his youngest brother, the hereditary prince Adolph Frederic, and the senator and prime minister of that kingdom, Ulric Scheffer, accompanied by several other Swedish noblemen, in order to perform a journey through some European countries, but particularly, to visit the courts of Paris and Berlin. The king being at Paris, his father, king Adolph Frederic, as he was with some of his noblemen engaged in play at cards, dropped down, and died suddenly at Stockholm. The crown prince,

prince, being his eldest son, was, at Paris, within a few days after, solemnly congratulated King of Sweden; but the affairs at Sweden and Stockholm not allowing him a long stay at Paris, this young king made it his main business, to enjoy the king of France's friendship, and to obtain, in a more particular manner, the assurance of an uninterrupted enjoyment of all imaginable friendship and assistance from that court: after which, the Swedish king left Paris, and, with all possible speed, made his journey to Berlin. The king's errand at Berlin could not retard him long at that place, since things had, some few months before, been so settled between that and the Swedish court, that there remained little or nothing for the king of Sweden to dispatch, which had not been already, if not thoroughly decided, at least the outlines of it performed: for, the king of Sweden's younger brother, prince Charles the duke of Sudermanland, had,
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some months before, under pretext of finishing his marriage with his consort the princess of Holstein, taken a journey to Brandenburg, and for some time abode at Berlin and Sans Soucie; where he had frequent conferences with his uncle, the king of Prussia, about matters concerning the common secrets of his father the late king of Sweden, and those of the king of Prussia.

Besides this manœuvre, another, of no less consequence, was carried on by prince Henry, the king of Prussia's brother, who, some weeks after, in the same summer season, appeared in person at Stockholm; and, after some days stay at this capital, returned to the court at Petersburg, and from thence through Lifland to Prussia again. The present king of Sweden, the better to secure his designs with regard to Prussia, did agree with his mother, the queen-dowager of Sweden, to undertake a voyage, together with the princess of Sweden, her daughter, in order to visit her

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her brother the king of Prussia. The queen and the princess accordingly set out from Stockholm, in the summer 1772, for Berlin; and having passed some time at that court, and seemingly prevailed upon her brother in favour of her son, in whatever might conduce to their mutual interest in the scheme very soon to be prosecuted; she, on her return, was informed at Swedish Pomerania, that the revolution in Stockholm luckily had been finished; as the court of Prussia, far from making any objection to this change of Swedish government, was ready, immediately after, to ratify what was done, and to congratulate the king of Sweden upon the progress he had now made; as it is to be supposed, the king of Sweden had not failed to wish the Prussian court an advantage no less considerable over Poland and Dantzic.

To return to the Russian affairs.—
Nothing could be either so sacred, nor
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any thing too abominable, which might not without reserve have been practised, to secure the Swedish affairs on that side, on account of the formidable power of that empire, and the strength of its government; which was managed by a most accomplished monarch, supported by her ministers, the most experienced men Russia ever produced; and who, gained over by the wise conduct of the empress, were by no means easily alienated from her interest; and they, besides, by several years most intimate influence upon Sweden, were, in many circumstances, better acquainted with the situation of the affairs of Sweden, than the Swedish ministry themselves, confounded with their intestine dissensions and disorders; not to mention, that Russia, of all foreign powers, was the best situated, and, according to its interest, the most zealous guarantee of the Swedish constitution, upon which

which the liberty of Sweden was founded.

It was also no easy matter for the Swedes, either to find out, or to execute those measures, which would be conducive to the purpose aimed at, without being at any time in the power of Russia to oppose those measures which might have been adopted. But, what the Swedish court could not effect alone, was not wanting to be supplied, by frequent negotiations of the court of France, and the influence by which the latter have always been able to prevail upon that of Constantinople. Whatever might have been the particulars serving to give a colour to affairs, one nevertheless saw, at Constantinople, in the year 1768, the Russian ambassador, and all his attendants, put in a close prison by the sultan: an event most dishonourable for Russia.—As this was an affront sufficient to exasperate the empress of Russia, and,
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in reality, was no less than an offensive war against her states, it could not fail to call that part of her military force, which was not yet engaged in Poland, from the northern Swedish boundaries, in order to be sent to the uttermost parts of Europe, there to slaughter and to be slaughtered.

The Swedes, seeing themselves, in this situation of Russian affairs, rid of the danger hitherto apprehended from the Russian military strength, the French party at Sweden began to make a greater figure; particularly, by making a more unreserved use of the liberty of the press, lately established in that kingdom. The chief topics now allowed to appear in public, were only such as discovered some great disorders and miscarriages of the public affairs; represented always, as resulting from the bad disposition, not only of the governors, but also of the government, or of the constitution itself; though the former only was true, in so far

far as it was the cause of the latter ; and could easily have been removed, without abolishing the old constitution, had there been none who wanted laws for being thus enabled to practise alone, according to the new constitution, those very old vices, which, before him, a number of rulers did practise, not in conformity to, but against the old constitution. Such proceedings, in publishing pamphlets, one after another, served, indeed, to open the eyes of the inhabitants, and to acquaint them of the disposition of their wicked rulers ravaging their unhappy country ; but these concerted writings served still more to disgust them at the old government, which was always, in a deceitful manner, represented to the public, as the source of their unhappiness ; yet without in the least, or manifestly aiming at any change of the constitution.

But, however Russia was deprived of its most valuable military force, their
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army, about 400,000 men, being dispersed and occupied, some of them in Poland, the rest against the Turk; it nevertheless contained twenty millions of inhabitants, which could not fail to afford the richest resources in any case of emergency, particularly to a monarch and her ministers, for their ability and national virtue, as much esteemed by their own people, as admired by the world. The consideration of which, seemingly required much more than a Turkish war, or Poland's confederacies, for securing the Swedish designs, with regard to Russia. But, in the year 1770, a most dreadful rebellion broke out in Russia, which was carried on by the rebel Pugatscheff, who pretended to be the late emperor Peter the III. ; and who, with an army of no less than 100,000 men at Moscow, in the most dreadful manner threatened the Russian court, and the whole empire; and endeavoured entirely to throw
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it beyond the reach of the Russian government, to be able any longer to pursue political measures abroad, since they scarcely were capable of saving themselves. This rebellion, however, not carried to its height till the Swedish revolution had been accomplished, was nevertheless fomented in Russia some years before; where, in the year 1765, it was no more regarded as any particular news, to hear it reported by several, that they had either seen or spoken with some man exactly resembling the dead emperor; and it wanted only a Pugatscheff, in order to make vast parties believe it, and, in fact, adhere to this impostor.

England, did the royalists of Sweden look upon, as an allied potentate to Russia; whose extensive and important mutual traffick, could not but the more unite their interests, and compel them to afford one another all necessary assistance. And though nothing could be less expected by

the Swedes, than that the English, as inspired by the noblest sentiments of liberty, would ever approve that unlimited licentiousness exercised by the Swedish senate, in managing the reins of government, not like protectors of liberty, but rather as tyrants and misanthropes; it nevertheless was thought, that nothing could be more disliked by a nation enamoured of freedom, than an approaching change, not of licentious governors, but of the government or of the constitution itself, which was founded upon principles of the utmost liberty, so much interesting all nations where there yet remained any regard for freedom. England, however, was considered as being under a double obligation to join with the Russians, whenever the day, aimed at by the king of Sweden, was to approach; upon which, not the disturbers of liberty, but liberty itself, should be once called in question. Whatever might have

have been the sentiments of the English and Swedish courts, a due modesty does not allow every one to enquire into. So far is certain, that it being beyond the reach of the Swedes to have any considerable influence upon England, the French undoubtedly, and, in some measure, Prussia, were to Sweden now, in the same connexion, as England was supposed to be in respect to Russia; and at this very instant of time, several struggles were heard of amongst the English colonies at America, by which the English could not avoid a speedy transport of their military force, to that distant part of the world; which, in the same proportion as it left England defenceless, could not fail still more to abate the relative force of the Russians within Europe.

During the Russian war with the Turk, Russia was under the necessity of borrowing money from Holland, and Lifland was mortgaged to the Dutch; whence the

Swedes supposed, that it might be for the interest of the Dutch, to protect that part of the Russian dominions; besides that the Dutch had obtained some advantages from Sweden, at the congress 1720, at Hamburgh. But, at the very time of the Swedish revolution, Holland was engaged in a contest with the emperor of Morocco, and its whole maritime force was employed at Gibraltar, and other parts of the Mediterranean coasts. Still, in the year 1774, the king of Sweden fitted out some vessels, with 600 men, under the command of Colonel Cronstet, which sailed for Morocco, in order to carry over a present from the Swedish king, to the emperor and his ministry, consisting of several sorts of china, silver and gold vessels: and it deserves particularly to be noted, that the first word the emperor of Morocco spoke to this Christian embassy, was, his asking whether the king of Prussia had yet got Pantzick into his possession.

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A great noise was made, at this time, about the Jesuits, all over Europe, but, more particularly, in Sweden. Their unhappy fate served, to deprive Spain of a considerable number of wealthy inhabitants, to people some uninhabited places in Prussia, and to prepare the minds of the Swedes, for a more passive obedience towards their court; as in the third part of this treatise shall be shown.

What might have been more particularly the political views of the Swedes in respect to Spain, hath not yet entirely appeared in public. It, however, was reported, that a prince of Spain had visited the Swedish court, after the revolution had been executed; who, it is said, had likewise taken a journey through some of the Swedish provinces, in order to satisfy his curiosity, by taking a view of the Swedish iron mines.

Thus, Sweden was, on all sides, and in every respect, left in a situation fit for any

intestine commotion whatever; its true patriots being partly deprived of all means of supporting their sentiments, and partly never imagining, before too late, that any attempt was in view against their liberty, whatsoever commotions may have been discovered, as tending only to oppress the disturbers of liberty, in humbling an insolent and cruel aristocracy; which the people universally wished for, since they, a few only excepted, had, for many years, suffered by the oppressors; who exerted the utmost cruelty, within and without the kingdom.

Nothing therefore remained, but to make use of the time and circumstances, in farther managing the spirit and sentiments of the inhabitants, according to the projects of the court, which, indeed, was nothing else but to prepare the wretched people, once to shake off this grievous burden, in order thus to enable them to receive another no less enormous: a more evident explanation of which is to make up the following pages.

P A R T II.

*Of the Swedish affairs, within the kingdom,
before the revolution.*

WHEN a nation is to be examined, whether it is in a state of liberty or slavery, one may look upon the two different sources, from whence, in all kinds of civil government, use to result integrity, or corruption, liberty, or slavery. These two sources are, either the laws, or the men by whom the laws are enacted or executed.

Upon these two chief principles, are founded, the happiness, or unhappiness of a people; in so far as it is evident, and an undeniable truth, that the customs, manners,

ners, mutual obligations, and every other qualification of a nation, are, in the social life, derived, either from the laws, or from men. Hence, it also happens, that, in two different respects, a people is either in a state of liberty or slavery. If the constitutions of a country are perfect, but the men appointed for guarding and executing them, are wicked : such a country then is in a state of liberty, by the constitution ; but in a state of slavery, in fact. As, for instance, there may be the best laws in a country, but, at the same time, a most wicked judge, who, according to such laws, shall either free or condemn a citizen or his property : It may then happen, that wrong judgment is given against the most evident and the most accomplished constitution. The judge, being beyond the danger of punishment, either in case of his explaining the constitution in his favour, or in putting a wrong sense upon the law ; or even on account of his being a partisan,

fan, having factious friends, who are the same oppressors and injurers as the judge himself is ; every one of them being the more ready to defend the common injustice, either by secret briberies, or, in case of the utmost danger, by open violence, if they all have a common advantage, and an united interest in oppressing the rest of the citizens: there, it also is liberty by the constitution only, but a mean slavery in fact.

On the other hand, a nation is said to be in a state of liberty in fact, and enslaved by constitution, if righteous men amongst that people are under the disagreeable necessity of executing incoherent laws, intending the oppression of the people, and the devastation of the country ; which, for instance, happened formerly, during popery, in several European countries ; where kings and governors of accomplished virtue, were under the necessity, according to some of the pope's constitutions

tions and bulls, to charge and oppress their own subjects and country, in order to procure Italy and Rome exorbitant power, wealth, and luxurious pleasures.

Having previously laid down this distinction of liberty and slavery, it may easily be demonstrated, whether Sweden before the revolution, was enslaved either by constitution, or in fact; and how far the Swedes, at present, after the king had, at the revolution, changed all the former constitutions, are to be considered either as a free people, or as slaves; and whether their present slavery is to be ascribed either to the constitutions, or to those of the inhabitants on whom it is incumbent to guard and execute the constitutions?

The preceding question will now resolve itself, by adding light and evidence to a history of this kind, as soon as we in the following pages, shall take a view of the Swedish constitutions, and the execution

execution of them before and after the revolution ; without the exposition of which, too much evidence should be lost, in giving a solid description of the last revolution, in so far as it was fomented several years before its execution. The above distinction of liberty and slavery, will afford farther evidence in examining the present state of Sweden, particularly, when, in the sequel, it shall be shown, in what manner the present king of Sweden gained over his life-guards, and the rest of the inhabitants of Stockholm, to second him at the very moment of the revolution, by haranguing to them in several speeches, setting forth his intention to expel licentiousness, and abolish slavery, and, on the other hand, to introduce liberty ; when, in reality, the slavery to be eschewed, was nothing but the licentiousness of men, or, in other words, slavery in fact ; and the liberty at the same time introduced, by changing the old constitutions,

tions, and obtruding new ones, was, instead of removing the one slavery, to establish both the constitutional and that in fact, in all possible extent of civil slavery; which will be seen by a more exact examination of the Swedish constitutions, and their influence, either by themselves, or by wicked men, upon those citizens who were to be governed by them.

In Sweden, as in all other countries, where despotism has been banished, the laws are in general divided into two classes, *viz.* fundamental and common laws: the former chiefly regard the rulers and the government; the latter, the whole people in more particular cases.

According to the old fundamental laws, established at Sweden in 1723, the representatives of that kingdom, consisting always of four states, *viz.* nobility, clergy, merchants, and peasants, were chosen by themselves, each from amongst men out of their own body, with some exceptions
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with regard to the nobility and some of the clergy.

The representatives of the nobility, consisting of the oldest branches of each noble family, are stiled *capita familie*. Such a *caput familie* is always a representative by his birth; and he assists at the diet without farther choice. In case of the king's death, he is obliged to appear at Stockholm, thirty days after the king's decease, without any particular convocation, in order to be present at the diet, and assist at the king's burial, as well as the election or coronation of the successor to the throne. Each nobleman, as *caput familie*, is obliged, during the diet, to subsist on his own expences.

Out of the clergy, each bishop was a representative on account of his office, and was also never chosen to it. It was incumbent on him, in the same manner, as is mentioned before, concerning the nobility, to appear at every diet; and in
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case of the bishopric being vacant, the consistory of that place, elected from amongst themselves, one clergyman, who filled the bishop's place in the diet. In the same manner, each colonel of a regiment was a representative by his office, without farther election; but, as he, according to another law, prohibiting any others than noblemen from being placed in the higher offices of that kingdom, commonly was a nobleman, this exception may be observed, that in case of his being a *caput familie*, he was a representative by his birth, as well as by his office.

The rest of the clergymen, as representatives, were chosen by the clergy themselves, within a certain circle in each bishopric, called, in the country language, *probstery*. These representatives of the clergy, amounting altogether, over the whole kingdom, to about four hundred on each diet, were supported, during the diet,

diet, by a moderate sum of money collected for them amongst the clergy, in each place where they were chosen representatives.

The third state, consisting of traders, by whom are understood merchants, and others professing any trade in a town, likewise elected themselves, and, during the diet, supported their representatives, who commonly were chosen from among merchants, who had carried on their trade for above seven years. From each smaller town, only one representative was sent to the diet. Sometimes two of the smaller towns agreed, to choose and support a common representative. The larger towns, as, for instance, Abo and Gottenburgh, sent two; but Stockholm no less than four representatives; the number of which, all over the kingdom, amounted to about three hundred and fifty traders, when assembled at the diet.

The fourth state of the kingdom, consisting of peasants, did, in the same manner as the merchants of the towns, elect their representatives from amongst themselves, one or two from each country jurisdiction, who were chosen by the suffrages of all the husbandmen, convoked for this purpose, before the judge of that jurisdiction; and those representatives, which, at the diet, amounted altogether to about four hundred peasants, were, during their employment, supported, each by a sum of money collected for him by the rest of the peasants within the jurisdiction whence he was elected.—It is to be observed, that all these representatives were chosen as often as a diet approached, or the states in any extraordinary case were convoked.

The first business of these representatives, when met all together at the diet, was to elect a speaker for each of the four bodies, who accordingly was chosen from
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amongst the representatives themselves, within each body, separately one from another. The business of these speakers, (who, within the body of the nobility, were stiled, in their country language, *lantmarskalk*), was, to conduct each his state; to make in their congress the proposals of the debates; and, like the head of each body, every speaker, without further additional prerogatives than the preferment of honour, disposed of affairs concerning his state, or remitted them to the discussion of the body, whereof he was the head. But the peasants being supposed to want the necessary knowledge of the laws of the country, as most part of them could neither write, nor read writings, their body was therefore allowed a secretary, besides their speaker; the former of which was chosen by themselves, out of such gentlemen as were thought capable of assisting them in that way of business.

These representatives of the four states of the kingdom, or, as they are often called in the country language, and particularly in writings, the *high allowed states of the realm*, were, according to the before-mentioned fundamental laws, in 1723, invested with the supreme, legislative, judicatory, and executory power in Sweden. But the states of the kingdom not being called together, or there being no diet, the king, and the twelve senators, in the meanwhile, disposed of the three supreme powers mentioned; with considerable limitation, however, in regard to the legislative power; and always in such a manner, as rendered the senators accountable to the states of the realm, for the management of the reins of government, during the absence of the representatives. The king not being bound to such an account, it is easy to perceive, how unhappy these miserable creatures must be, by each meeting of
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of the representatives, when under the necessity of giving account of the administration of public affairs, which the king and his venal favourites did not fail to confound, in order to make the government itself defective, and hated by a people who knew not the distinction betwixt the defects of the government, and the faults of the governors. The senators, notwithstanding the enjoyment of their places for life, were, every diet, displaced from their offices, and new ones chosen by the king and representatives to fill their chairs; and the latter were no sooner chosen, and placed in their splendid dignity, than the same machinations, which served before to prepare the places for them, and to raise them above others, now threw them down beneath the rest of the citizens: and, in the same manner, all the others, not perceiving their mistake before too late, were overflattered by the hope of rising on one another's

ruin; till, at last, the reputation of the constitution itself being thus ruined, they, in course of time, were easily precipitated all at once. With regard to this method of supplying the vacant place of a senator, it was no difficult matter for the late king of Sweden, to obtain senators according to his views. When the place of a senator was vacant, it could not be supplied before the next diet; and, in the mean-time, some nobleman appointed by the king, and seemingly fit for such business, sat in the council.

The first public business, at the assembly of the representatives on a diet, after having chosen their speakers, and walked in procession to the palace, to salute the king and royal family, was, to point out members for a department, which, in the country language, is called *secreta utskot*, where all the affairs of more importance, which required to be kept secret, and particularly those regarding foreign countries,

tries, were debated. In this department, too, the senators were chosen, in a manner that shall soon be shown. The members of the *secreta utskot*, were elected from amongst the representatives; twenty-four of the nobility, twelve of the clergy, and as many merchants. But as for the peasants, they being thought not sufficiently qualified for this department, none of them were admitted members of it. This department being thus established, amongst the first of its proceedings, was to provide the vacant senator's place with a candidate; three of the nobility also were chosen by them, and proposed to the king's choice, one of whom was by him created senator. But as the king and his favourites used to have no small influence upon most of the members of *secreta utskot*, it seldom happened, that any others were proposed to the king, as candidates for the vacant senator's place, than such as, for the future, would serve

his purposes in managing the public affairs; and they being commonly too much attached to one or other foreign party, and, moreover, not often chosen from amongst the wisest, or least corrupted nobles, it was an easy matter to conduct them according to the views of the court, and to throw them down at pleasure; as it even used to be an almost common argument, frequently proffered by the senators themselves, in pleading their defence before the states or representatives, to harangue upon the frailty of human understanding, and its being circumscribed within so narrow limits, as not to allow them to foresee one or other unlucky issue of the administration with which they were entrusted.

Alliances with foreign powers were concluded or dissolved in the *secreta utskot*; but as the members of that department, not only before their election, used to be well known by the court and its favourites,

ites, but likewise, at the very time of election, briberies were practised, so that a favourable majority for the court could not but fall out: it seldom happened, that alliances, or any negotiations in this department, were prosecuted, otherwise than agreeably to the designs of the court. When, for instance, the representatives proceeded to elect members for *secreta utskot*, it was usual, one or two days before the election, to assemble all the representatives, now electors, in a public-house hired for that purpose, and provided with all kinds of liquors, servants, and attendants. Here, it was customary to prepare their minds, and to manage their conviction, in order to suit their inclination to the approaching election, which they were about to perform. Expences and briberies were the less spared for regulating this august assembly, since the issue of the most part of affairs, as being the object of a diet, almost depended upon the quality of the members

members of the *secreta utskot*, and the speakers of the four states. Those very men seldom returned from the diet, without being considerably enriched with the spoils of the public treasury. But, as such meetings were public, and the luxury and sums of money spent in this place were enormous, and the rest of the citizens complained, when they were groaning under enormous taxes, which annually encreased, and never sooner were levied, than lavished on these most extravagant debaucheries: it also seemed no less necessary for the court, to screen their friends concerned in these iniquitous practices, than to conceal the sources of the money thus squandered. Accordingly, for a course of years, none knew the court favourites being members of this department; and hardly were they discovered before the revolution was executed; and yet, some time after, many endeavoured, though in vain, to conceal their adherence to the court.

As for the immense sums of money squandered by such frequent extravagancies, it was held out to be French or Russian money, which the simplicity of the inhabitants easily allowed them to believe; tho' some of them knew too well, that 140 tons of gold *, the annual surplus in the public treasury of Sweden, were spent in this manner. It was not, indeed, easy for the utmost sagacity to penetrate the secrecy of these intrigues; for the people all over Sweden, being for many years divided into two factions, according to the old principle, (*viz.* to divide and to govern them at once), and the court, in order to be able, at any time, to head them both, and, in any important case, take the advantage of either factious party, the favourites made an appearance of being divided into as many parties; and the favourites being thus, at any time, and in all cases, possessed of the confidence of the whole, the court also had access to each different party, and governed

* 700,000 l. Sterling.

governed them all. One party having for a time been succumbent, and by oppression brought to desperation, and a desire of revenge; it was then, that the court, ready to foment the division, supported the vanquished party, by joining openly with it, and giving it more force to oppress its antagonists. Thus the flame of discord was never extinguished, but always supplied with fresh fuel.

The court, the better to conceal their sentiments, and the great advantage it hoped some time to reap from these politics, used now and then to complain openly to the people, about factions and oppressions thus ravaging the country. The outlines of the whole of these politics, were chiefly traced, about the year 1754, by the famous favourite Count Tessin; who, after having been Swedish ambassador for some years at Berlin and Paris, on his return to Sweden, was regarded with uncommon favour at the court, and was,

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n a short time, created governor to the crown prince or the present king, prime minister of state, chancellor of the university of Abo, president of Chancery, and senator.

Factions, thus raised and agitated one against another, served both to exhaust the public and private resources. The public treasuries were often so emptied before the meetings of the representatives, that they might be heard to complain even of the want of pens and ink in their respective departments : there being no public money to pay with, none would, out of his private resources, procure the necessaries they wanted. The country all over groaned no less under oppression, poverty, and increasing taxes. The same complaints were repeated at Stockholm, not in order to make them easy, by removing the cause, but the better to conceal the reasons of it. Some of them making their profit of crimes, which, during the diet, not only supported

supported them, but also, allowed the all the extravagant luxury which was capable of flattering a corrupted mind; and others, vast sums being bestowed on them either for each suffrage they gave, or being paid by months: they all rejoiced, in the hopes of returning to their families rich and opulent. The favourites of the court were persuaded, that a country thus ravaged, and impoverished by its intestine disorders, would, in proportion as it grew weak and feeble, lose both its former courage and ability; and accordingly, by itself, forward a scheme for throwing the nation under that yoke, which was always considered by them with the utmost horror, and which could not be obtruded on them, but when deprived both of the mind and power, for being able to resist it.

Examinations of crimes committed against the state, were undertaken in the *secreta utskot*; but, alas! a department

in its nature, or according to its establishment and the constitution, so excellent, could not be but a shelter for the greatest criminals, and a butchery of virtuous and innocent citizens, when converted into a body, whose members were deprived of wisdom and humanity. In such a case, may any form of government, founded upon principles of the utmost freedom and happiness, be the ruin of a nation, without other faults than those of licentious men, aiming at their private happiness, to be procured by means of the ruin of mankind.

Amongst many other intrigues carried on in this assembly, under pretence of practising virtue by prosecuting enormous crimes, was, for instance, a remarkable transaction prosecuted in 1756, by which some of the most noble families in that kingdom were executed. Count Brahe, and Count Horn, Puke, and Stahlsverd, were now sacrificed. Count Brahe was

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descended

descended from the most ancient and noble family in Sweden; his ancestors were distinguished in the annals of that kingdom, for their attachment to learning, and for the uncommon services they had done their country. Besides, it is the richest family that ever existed in Sweden; flourishing market-towns built by them, yet remaining in that country, and retaining the names of their founders, transmit their names, and repeat their merit to the latest posterity. Vast deserts and wildernesses, cultivated and made habitable by them, and several other marks proving how much they deserved the affection of their fellow-citizens, now only served to hasten the fall of Count Brahe; and being reckoned amongst criminals, he was brought to the scaffold, merely on account of his being, according to his merit, suspected worthy of a throne. Count Brahe, being colonel to the king's life-guard, was flattered by the court preferably to the
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rest of the nobles ; and being rich, and happy within himself, his ancestors having left him wealth, and given him a liberal education, he had no thoughts of enriching himself, by sharing in the crimes of the rest of his fellow-citizens ; as, on the other hand, he could not doubt of the court's sincerity, since he was himself a man of virtue and integrity. He therefore undertook to prosecute a scheme, of reforming abuses, and abolishing licentiousness, without hurting the constitution or liberty ; and he did not perceive his mistake, before too late. The court, who flattered him according to his inclination, only for getting rid of a man, in their eyes, dangerous, on account of his merit, integrity, and valour, did not turn their back on him before his danger was at its height, and his fall inevitable. At that time, liberty was still valued, and the very name of slavery so far abhorred, that the least suspicion or insinuation of

an attempt against freedom, were sufficient to bring a man under the penalty of death ; but, what was surprising, many years machinations and briberies conspiring to deprive them of their liberty, and very soon subject them to the utmost slavery, were not perceived ; so great was their blindness ! and it scarcely required more to bring a man to the block, or to raise the whole country in arms, than only to make the people believe, that he was endeavouring to introduce despotism, or, as it is called in the country language, *souverainity* : which became the unhappy fate of Count Brahe.—For, this Count, being now prepared to discover to the citizens the usual briberies and management of affairs, in order, either to correct or humble the licentiousness of aristocracy ; he was soon seized, his designs being betrayed by those he thought his protectors ; and being represented, as a traitor who intended to introduce sovereignty, he was
beheaded,

beheaded, with several others, as before-mentioned.

The court, being thus delivered, not only from a man whose wealth and reputation they feared, but likewise from the least suspicion of having ever bribed for any kind of sovereignty; they thought themselves happy, so long as they were encompassed only by such favourites as were, in all respects, inferior to themselves. In some few cases, and in certain societies, it may perhaps be the virtue of a man, to conceal his talents; but here, it was not only a crime to practise virtue, but it also was the greatest virtue and merit to be a criminal, in fact.

Another instance, no less criminal, happened in this *secreta utskot*, in the year 1764, when a number of the richest merchants in Stockholm were accused of entering into a combination, to transport copper plates abroad; which, though it had been done by them, in consequence of measures taken in the

preceding diets, for procuring money in exchange for copper, to answer the public exigencies; yet, the money received, having been, as usual, employed by the succeeding diet, in procuring partisans, and purchasing suffrages; and more money being still wanted: the counting-houses of these merchants were sequestered, and all their money seized, under pretext of supplying the public treasury, but, in reality, was spent in the usual debauchery. Such villany, instead of being punished, was afterwards only announced to the publick, as a kind of open robbery; which, instead of suppressing violence, and strengthening the government, tended to encourage crimes, and, at the same time, to subvert the reputation and stability of the most happy constitution.

By all these, the court, to whom it belonged to make use of the executory power, or, at least, of its life-guard, in order to repress insolence, and defend innocence, thought

thought proper to delay the execution of it, till time, and conjunctures more adapted to their private wishes, might allow them, at the same time, to extend their own power and happiness, without in the least diminishing the unhappiness of the subjects, when only the weight was increased of their chains, prepared for keeping them in perpetual slavery.

Proposals of war or peace were made in *secreta utskot*, and ratified by all the rest of the representatives in their respective departments; but wicked men, abandoned to corruption and insolence, and endeavouring to satisfy their private views, by invading states and ravaging countries, were capable of all abuses; and nothing was so sacred, which they would not profane, in a manner disgraceful to humanity. Thus, for instance, was the war undertaken with Russia in 1741, as well as another against Prussia in 1757, no less atrocious than the former. Not to men-

tion all the vain colourings invented to cover the wickedness of their conduct in regard to the Russian, as well as the Prussian war; the former was undertaken, in order to procure King Frederic more power, in case he had, by such an opportunity as the war afforded, been put at the head of an army; and the latter war was begun against Prussia, merely on purpose to get the military force out of the kingdom; for the King Adolphus Frederic, and his adherents, were now in danger of vengeance, in case the military force had not been transported without the kingdom; since the rest of the nobility, awakened by compassion, and undeceived, after their first rage was appeased, began to perceive, and resent the bloody transactions of the preceding year; which had stained the council of Sweden with the innocent blood of the most noble and ancient families, shed at Stockholm, in the beheading of Count Brahe and Horn, who intended

tended nothing but what the court and its favourites themselves had been ready to prosecute, if, exempted from fear or crimes, they had been able to put in execution a scheme, which, they feared, would only serve to discover their own misconduct, and excite reproaches and revenge. One crime sometimes generates an infinite number of others, which altogether adhere to each other, like the first and following links of an immeasurable chain. The favourites of the court having, the preceding year, shed torrents of innocent blood at home, they also, in order to avoid vengeance and punishment, which they feared, in case the army, and the rest of the nobility, had remained within the kingdom, sent them, the following year, altogether, or at least those they dreaded most, to Prussia, to be there slaughtered. The sanction which Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, had made during his reign, and the conclusion of

the peace at Westphalia, by which he bound Sweden to protect the protestant religion in Germany, were the clauses now used as a pretence for the war; and every Sunday, during the war, they were read in all the churches, by the clergymen; though, in reality, the Swedish army acted contrary to what was contained in the Westphalia treaty, by invading and ravaging a protestant country in the German territories.

The army being thus out of the way, there was no further danger at home; for the common people, having no means of information, remained quite ignorant of the true state of affairs, as well as of the reasons of all these transactions; and they were glad to hear, that Christianity, and the gospel, were no less earnestly urged at home, than defended abroad. Those few who knew the truth, but, being involved in the same crimes, were afraid of bringing the truth to
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light; and those again who were innocent, had no sooner dropped a word concerning these things, but they were tried, and punished most severely. Two or three friends, stopping for a moment on the streets of Stockholm, to salute one another, or talk about their private affairs, were, at that time, often seized on the spot by the guard, imprisoned, and punished, without having committed any other crime. One lady, a goldsmith's wife in Stockholm, as she was complaining of the common dearth of living, and want of money, was so unhappy as to express herself in these words: "Were Count Brahe yet alive, living might be cheaper;" upon which, she was immediately arrested, and condemned to be whipped with rods at the common place of execution.

In this situation of things, the court of Sweden, seemingly, thought on the safety of the kingdom; in the usual way, however,

however, only of extending the king's power; on which account, their schemes could not but prove abortive at that time, though all the military force was then in Pomerania, employed in the war against the king of Prussia: The situation of Sweden, with regard to Russia, was the same, the Russians being then chiefly busy with this war; and moreover, by the sudden death of the Russian empress Elisabeth, the throne was mounted in 1762, by Czar Peter III. a prince attached to the sentiments of king Adolph Frederic of Sweden. But, besides that the king of Sweden, during the whole of his reign, was inclined to cowardice, and however it was repaired by the queen his consort's too great vivacity, he nevertheless found two particular obstacles deterring him from so dangerous an undertaking as an attempt to change the constitutions of the kingdom. He, with the one eye, looked on the quality of his royal family, and with
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the other, on that of his subjects in general; and he perceived, that the former were yet too young, and unqualified to give him any assistance, the crown prince, his eldest son, being at this time but eleven years of age; and as for his subjects, though they were considerably weakened, they, however, were yet strong enough to oppose him, in case their liberty should be called in question. It is, indeed, somewhat uncommon and surprising, considering the perseverance of that nation, which having for so many preceding years been ravaged and desolated by factions at home, and wars abroad, yet retained somewhat of its former strength and genius, which, however, began now to decline at every instance, in a most visible manner, particularly since the briberies were turned towards destroying commerce, by discouraging the arts, persecuting industry, and rewarding crimes only. Agriculture likewise was not only neglected,
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but, by repeated oeconomical laws, pernicious in their tendency, the tillage of the ground was obstructed. These proceedings could not but forward the things wished for, in the same proportion as they rendered the inhabitants so poor, weak, and ignorant, as to become unable to support or defend their liberty; and, what is no less remarkable, this universal calamity of Sweden was come to maturity, at the very time the crown prince, the present king, arrived at the proper age for mounting the throne, in order to reap the intended fruits from the subjects long prepared misery.

The representatives, as being intrusted with an almost unlimited power in all matters concerning the welfare of the citizens; the *secreta utskot* was accordingly empowered, in case of emergency, to borrow money from abroad, for supplying the public wants of the kingdom. Vast sums of money thus borrowed, besides those

those extorted from the subjects by enormous taxes, were spent in the usual way; merely in purchasing suffrages, either in the provinces, by electing the representatives, or in Stockholm, by employing these creatures, thus purchased, in the management of public affairs.

The governor of each province of Sweden, is always a nobleman, according to the Swedish fundamental laws, reserving the more important places for the nobility only. He was formerly appointed to his office by the king and senators; in such a manner, however, as always left the king the last decision in the creating a governor, or, as he is called in the Swedish language, the *landshövding*. The majority of them also, whose whole number in Sweden amounted to about thirty, were more attached to the court than to the senate. As their places are of the greatest importance, their employment is of no less influence; each of them being the head

head of the people within his province, and the management of his office having an influence upon civil, æconomical, criminal, and ecclesiastical matters: the governor accordingly, was within the reach of disposing of almost every civil or military object to be maintained within his province. Some of the lowest officers of the crown were appointed or removed from their places by him, and the rest of the subalterns, in a great degree, depended on his favour, as also the secretary and the treasurer of the province; though the former was appointed by the king, and the latter by the chamber college. Since corruption had got the better, and bribes began to prevail even in the provinces, it was then rather by the governor, than by the people themselves, that the representatives were chosen to assist at any approaching diet; the people in towns and country jurisdictions gave their suffrages, according as they were either paid

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money, or gained over by any other equivalent reward; or, in some other cases, threatened or persecuted, to give the votes pitched upon. Consequently, the elected representatives, (the nobility, as not being chosen, in this respect excepted,) were always sure to be such as they were wanted in Stockholm; and never, indeed, were they cheaper purchased, nor had the threatenings proved them more calamitous, than at last, when ordered either to abjure their freedom, or to be executed on the spot.

The nobles, though they were never chosen representatives, the oldest nobleman in each family, intitled to this right, or the *caput familie*, being, as already said, representative by his birth, they nevertheless, and notwithstanding their vast number, amounting, when assembled in the diet, to near 700, were conducted according to the prospects, and in many respects governed more easily than the three other

other states: For, besides that they never were supported in their expences in a lawful way, neither by the publick, nor by the rest of the noble families, as were the clergy, merchants, and peasants, by those whom they represented; but, on the contrary, the representatives of the nobility, or *capita familie*, were obliged in every thing to subsist on their own private resources; and many of them being in such a situation as to want money, before he was able to leave his house and family, or undertake the journey to the diet; this also, far from creating difficulties to the governor, or any other within the province, solicitous how to oblige a nobleman, it, on the contrary, afforded a large opportunity for adjoining him, if not to his sentiments, at least to his suffrages. The issue of these suffrages being in the present time always covered with fair proposals, was never disclosed but by the event, and so too late to be repaired.

repaired. Moreover, a two years stay at Stockholm, the dearest place in Sweden, in the quality of a representative, during many and frequent diets, put them under the necessity of looking for money, where-soever it might be got; and frequently, many of these noblemen used to return rich and wealthy, though quite distressed, at their arrival to attend the diet.

Another circumstance, no less forwarding wickedness, than adapted to the genius of intrigues in use at that time, was a liberty granted by law to each *caput familie*, of transmitting his warrant, as representative, to any other nobleman who pleased to assist at the diet in his place. Whence it happened, that disguised favourites of the court, being noblemen themselves, bought, for vast sums of money, the warrants of such of these *capita familie*, who were willing to sell them. Thus, the purchaser could at once be a representative for more families, and give

as many suffrages in each cause, as he had before bought warrants, and was now in possession of. No sooner was there a nobleman, whose virtue and abilities were capable of rendering him suspected, than there was found a court-favourite to buy his warrant, if his situation was, or could be such as to be satisfied with gold; and the nobleman having sold his warrant, was allowed to retire into the country to his family, during the whole diet; which they commonly did with as great pleasure as advantage, after having received the payment for their warrants.

Though the number of nobility vastly exceeded that formerly usual in Sweden, so that, instead of three hundred, during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, as many thousands were reckoned in the reign of the late king Adolphus Frederic; he nevertheless increased this number, with the view of increasing his favourites, and creating partisans of a kind that never before existed

ed in Sweden. A distinction being soon after made between the old and the new nobility, it served to involve in jealousy, hatred, and clandestine persecutions, a body hitherto united to their country, at least, by motives of equal interest and honour. Thus, divided into two formidable parties, equally oppressive to one another, they, out of mutual hatred and weariness of each other, rather than a regard for their common safety, forwarded a scheme, the execution of which, never could be expected from the united interests of the ancient families, derived from the merit and rights of their remotest ancestors, unanimously propagated by them, and transmitted by each generation to their latest posterity.

Parties and partisans at last grew so common, that they reached the lowest of the inhabitants; ladies, and even the common sort of women were not excepted. It being impossible to attach by princi-

ples, such as had no discernment at all: names were invented for each party, and these were sufficient to attract those who adhered only through vicious motives, or by sentiments communicated to them by others. Hats and Bonnets were the common appellations of those two monstrous bodies, into which the whole kingdom was at last divided. Oftentimes a glass of brandy given to each partisan, might have served to attach whole villages, either to the one or the other flock; and those by whom sentiments of virtue were still retained, and who chose to follow their own conviction, rather than the empty names of Hat or Bonnet, could seldom force their judgment beyond a mere opinion, founded upon conjectures about the integrity of either party, the truth and connection of things being then as much unknown, as it made up almost the whole of the maxims and politics of the times, to conceal the truth, in destroying

stroying a government, which they were appointed to protect. Vagabonds, and chiefly such as were capable of any thing, without the least regard to honour or virtue, were eagerly adopted by each party; and such having been for some time used to stroll round the country, in order to search out opinions, or in any manner whatever to increase the number of the partisans, they were afterwards rewarded; and this became at last the surest road to employment, honour, and wealth. The first question directed to any young gentleman, when waiting upon some lofty one, in order to obtain his countenance, was, Whether he was Hat or Bonnet? If he happened to be of a contrary party, the visit he had paid, served only to make himself known and persecuted; so that people of better education, and who by accident had got the opportunity, not only of improving their mind, but had also preserved their integrity inviolated, by

having avoided to share in the publick crimes, considered themselves as happy in retiring, and concealing their virtues; as, indeed, the exercise of their talents, might have served no other end than to hasten their ruin, or at least to raise a persecution against themselves, had their impartiality only been known; for crimes being universal, none but criminals were suffered, and innocence alone was feared,

In *secreta utskot*, during the diet, ambassadors were chosen, and dispatched to foreign courts; but during the absence of the representatives, or, in other words, there being no diet, the king sometimes alone invested them with their credentials. Those men, who formerly, dispatched from the barbarian countries, were nothing better than privileged spies, may, in a period of more refined manners, and with regard to the extensive influence of their business, be considered as those ties of union, formed

formed, by their abilities, and by their amicable conduct abroad, for connecting different states, of which mankind is composed, into one great city, in order to enjoy common happiness, as the most valuable property; to the enjoyment of which, each individual separately, and the whole in common, have a sure and incontestible claim. Their ingenuity, and their behaviour, being beyond my judgment, a decent reserve might allow me to pass them over in silence, and leave their character to the discernment of those who know them, and have a better right to judge of their conduct.

Conformably to the constitutions, each representative gave his vote; but there being four different states, each had their hall separate from the other, and gave their suffrages among themselves, either in writing, or verbally; expressing, most commonly, only one negative or affirmative word. The votes being then collect-

ed and reviewed, the affair next in question was decided by plurality. When in all, or at least in three states, the majority agreed, either in the negative or affirmative, the question was thoroughly decided; but if the majority of only two states affirmed, and the plurality of the other two voted in the negative, the question was nevertheless decided; yet in such a manner, as left the affair in its former state, or as a subject about which nothing could be either affirmed or denied. Though no constitution among them could be more happy, its abuse, however, proves, that no engagement can be so sacred, which may not, by licentiousness and abuses, be rendered abominable. Villains were hired either amongst the representatives themselves, or some others having business in the hall of the assembly, who, concealed either in the crowd, or behind the voters, put the negative or affirmative word in their mouth,

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in case any question might have been moved, which was not decided the day before, as usual, at the publick-house, where it was the custom to pay the votes, and live upon them. The nobility and clergy, moreover, having almost joined interests, chiefly by laying on taxes, a burden, of which the heaviest part always fell upon the traders and peasants, the latter being the supporters of the state, and the former those supported by them, it also happened, by giving suffrages concerning taxes, that the two first states agreed, and it now remained to gain a majority only in one of the other two; which, since they had been divided into parties, was most easily effected, sometimes without the least payment, or merely out of private passions against one another.

It was become a custom, that the nobility married the richest merchants daughters in Stockholm and other towns; by
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which they found means to unite the interests of these two states, and easily joined the plurality of the traders to their views. Such marriages between the nobility and commons, being formerly cautiously prohibited, it was, in some of the diets, represented to the commons as a matter much resembling incest ; as if the commons, in the same manner as beasts, should be prevented by laws, from being, by a nearer union, connected with nobler beings ; which might have been sufficient to flatter the vanity of those who could not foresee the effects of such union, in a nation, where, according to the constitutions, the mutual interest of these states had been so much separated one from another. This situation of things, so preposterously maintained, and exposed to continual misconduct, in as many different matters as could be influenced by the supreme power, could not but fill the country with violence and oppression, and leave
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the citizens forsaken, even in their utmost calamity; which caused the people to detest the form of government, in proportion as the insolence and inhumanity of the rulers grew insupportable; and was never punished, but rather encouraged, in a manner imperceptible to a nation blinded by parties, and plunged in factions and ignorance.

With regard to sciences, some encouragement was not wanting for certain branches of philosophy; such as, botany, mineralogy, metaphysics, logic, and some mathematical knowledge. Political study, in any other method than that already mentioned, was considered as a crime; and it frequently was sufficient to exclude a clergyman from a parish, if he was only reported to be a politician. Those who, in their sermons, inveighed against public crimes, were said to *politicise*; an appellation sufficient to ruin a clergyman's reputation, if not always to condemn him as
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an heretic, and to be the cause of his banishment; which latter happened to the rector of one of the parishes of Stockholm, by name Rutstrom, a doctor of divinity, who was thus persecuted in 1765; and, having returned from his banishment to Stockholm at the revolution, but refusing to take his oath to the new constitution, was imprisoned, and suddenly died in the prison. So much was the mere name of a science dreaded, which, if well cultivated and universally esteemed, might have spread much light among a people, who wanted to grow blind chiefly on that eye, that they might be able to become poor slaves. History was suffered, provided it contained but the chronological and genealogical parts, with a few remarks, compiled, not in conformity to truth, but merely dictated agreeably to the taste of the times, and either filled with fables, or void of the most important remarks. Those who
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knew best the art of flattery, wrote best; and many, not ashamed to write poems and verses in praise and favour of the most public thefts, robberies, and murders, were crowned with laurels, and raised to wealth and splendor; a reward, formerly consecrated to patriots, and attained only by heroic virtue and truth. The doctrines of divinity were taught by words without sense; and, instead of rendering the common people pious, it was thought sufficient to breed them merely superstitious, and to enchain their minds with the fetters of darkness; so that the genteeler sort of people, rouzed by study and experience, perceived the deceit, and were soon inclined to the other extreme, to despise religion, and scarcely have any at all: Whence it followed, that the higher ranks were no less easily governed by crimes, than the lower sort was enchanted and conducted by their stupid devotion. So great, indeed, was the stupidity
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and enthusiasm of the latter, that, at last, girls, women, and soldiers began to preach: Whole villages and jurisdictions, being moved by these extraordinary saints, run together, to profess their devotion for the preachers, and to share in their phrenzy. Nothing also could be impossible amongst a people of such a disposition, where it wanted only a pious criminal, capable of concealing his hypocrisy, for being able to enchain them all.

Since the truth hath thus been unfolded, and briberies have been disclosed, it appears too evidently, that the ruin of Sweden derived its sources, not from the constitution itself, but, on the contrary, must be ascribed to the wickedness of men who abused the constitution, and imposed upon the wavering disposition of their fellow-citizens, by protecting crimes, and forwarding licentiousness, exerted in favour of the oppressors, but against the most salutary constitution; which, in proportion as it
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xtorted, from the rest of the citizens, a weariness, by those destructive abuses of liberty ; it insensibly operated upon their minds a contempt for the foundations of their freedom ; hastened the downfall of its fundamental laws, and opened the road for those, who, desirous to govern, invaded their liberty.

Considering the common laws of Sweden, as entirely excepted from the constitutions or fundamental laws ; they were allowed to be changed, though by the legislative power only, when thought defective. Accordingly, these laws were, during the reign of King Frederic of Hesse Cassel, in the year 1743, improved, and adapted to the renewed form of government. But licentiousness and fraud having got the better, the judges and executors found means to elude the laws, in explaining each paragraph of the law, not in conformity to the sense or intention of the legislature, but, on the contrary, ac-

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cording to the corrupted mind and the vicious motives of each executor. In order to remove this inconvenience, legislators thought proper to give the laws more evidence, by enacting new laws, to explain the former: Thus, in endeavouring to prevent transgressions, by increasing the bulk of laws, but diminishing the number of faithful executors, the laws, in a short time, became as numerous as the profligate rulers themselves, who both enacted and executed the laws.

The senate, consisting of the king, and twelve, sometimes eighteen senators, was, according to the constitutions, invested only with the judicatory and executory power, during the absence of the states; to whom the senate, excepting the king, were bound to give an account of the administration of affairs at the next meeting. As for the legislative power, it was, by the constitution, entirely reserved to the four states, as the dearest pledge of freedom;

freedom ; but, in course of time, even this power was invaded and abused, not only by the senate, but also by the several colleges, formerly established at Stockholm, merely for managing and executing civil or military matters.

Each college consists of ten or twelve members, called counsellors and assessors, and is headed by a president, who always is a nobleman ; which, like the senate, are answerable to the four states for their public conduct. Their places, in the same manner as all other public offices in Sweden, being assigned to them for life, and distributed, sometimes by the states, but most commonly by the king and senate : they could not be displaced, but for crimes committed, after having been legally tried and condemned. The college of admiralty, seated at Carlscrona, and where matters were administered concerning the marine militia, was so far different from the other colleges, that its president behoved

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always to be one of the senators. The college of war, on which it is incumbent to manage every thing concerning the militia in general, and the land-forces in particular, whether it concerns the improvement of their discipline, or their pay; this college, since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, was not, like the others, provided with constant members, but they were chosen and appointed, according to an enacted law, from that regiment, which the matter in question concerned. The rest of them, as, for instance, commerce and chamber colleges, the former for disposing of the traffic, the latter for managing the finances all over the kingdom, were established almost upon one footing. This, in the constitution, so incomparable establishment, could not fail, in fact, to promote the ruin of the state, and that of its liberty; which, two circumstances of the utmost importance chiefly concurred to effect; *viz.* the vastly increasing

creasing number of civil and military officers; secondly, the small, or no salary at all, appointed for the civil offices. It nevertheless being indispensibly necessary, that their honour, lives, dignity, and families should be supported, the consequences were no less unavoidable. And it is surprising, that, notwithstanding the utmost evidence and certainty of these consequences, confirmed by continual experience, since there were as many distressed, as there were men or families depending on civil employment: the king, nevertheless, as well as the senate, far from being solicitous to relieve a part of the public distress, on the contrary, meditated only, how to make use of the fluctuating virtue, of which a starving situation at last impelled the miserable to suffocate the nobler sentiments, for being able to transgress its limits. Those who were the most honest, were indeed the most miserable, in endeavouring to suffer any

thing, rather than allow their honesty, or their conscience, to be stained with reproaches of iniquity.

Heaven itself could no longer suffer the inhumanity of cruel rulers, who caused the guilty only to rejoice, and the virtuous perish, in such a manner as made human nature itself shudder with horror.

As for the senate, it governed by creatures and court-favourites ; and even the senate itself was composed of pensioners and favourites, raised to their places, and used, by their leaders ; like those half-polished instruments prepared for handling any dirty matters, which, hands cleansed in innocence, perhaps would themselves avoid touching. This very aristocratic rabble laid hold on the supreme power during the absence of the four states ; invaded, and divided among themselves, and favourites, the legislative, judicatory and executive power ! By inspiring the rest of the nobility, and particularly those employed

ployed in the colleges, with their deceitful and poisonous sentiments, they were capable, not only of plunging them in ignorance concerning their interest, quite different from that of this proud and insolent aristocracy, but likewise, of joining them to defend and protect a senate, which never flattered them oftener than when in danger of losing their power, and when bloodshed, injustice, and violence, seemed inexpedient for affording them the superiority.

The liberty of the press, introduced, and declared a constitutional law in 1766, was, by the senate, and the high court of justice, controlled at pleasure; and, being persuaded that the press was the only means by which knowledge could be spread farther than within a narrow circle of disguised or concealed usurpers, and that it would open a vast prospect, not only into the present, but also into past and future transactions; this could not fail of

striking the usurpers with resentment against those who made use of the press; and engaged them to persecute knowledge, as much, as they wished their unanswerable misconduct to be covered; the common ignorance of which, was by them considered as the only means for practising wickedness without obstacle, and with impunity. Any one might, therefore, have written what he pleased, provided he did not discover the crimes, injustice, and violences exercised by the senate and colleges; which, if the writings contained, the author was, by orders of the senate, seized and punished, under pretence of having endeavoured to corrupt the people, by teaching them vices unknown before. Scarcely were clergymen spared, who from the pulpit condemned the same crimes, and threatened the criminals only with the vengeance of heaven, which they feared less than the indignation of the people; the poor clergyman was, upon this,

this, thwarted with accusations of his being a politician ; and it, in reality, was enough to ruin his reputation. Many others, who, in the same manner, inveighed against corruption, and it being out of their power to avoid shocking some few corrupters, though without mentioning their names, were imprisoned, as having intended to raise the people in rebellion. Such were the means by which ignorance was cultivated, and insolence propagated ; which allowed some few, who alone knew the vices, to practise them at the expence of all the rest of the people, who were ignorant of the same wickedness, or, at least, could not presume such a misconduct, and accordingly, were unable to avoid being deluded and oppressed by the crimes of their leaders.

Good and evil, though, in their nature, objects, quite opposite to one another, are nevertheless, in the human perception, not capable of separation, if the

true idea is wanted, either of the one or the other; whence it must follow, that those who never knew vices, never can know true virtue in all its extent. It being not the cunning, but the malevolent, who practise the vices; those who exercise virtue, without knowing themselves to be virtuous, may often as easily practise the opposite vices, with all the same ignorance, though within a different circle, according to each one's different sphere of life. Public vices and crimes, committed within a state by only a few in high rank, could never be imitated, but merely reproached by the people in common; and, in as far as they are imitable, the lowest and the meanest knows them in his own circle, without farther new discoveries than the usual dictates of his passions, which, to correct, but not to detriment, the liberty of the press, was indeed most serviceable; but, alas! nothing was sacred to corrupted minds, fluctuating be-
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twixt committed crimes and feared reproaches.

The better to facilitate the invasion of the supreme power, the senate, in whose power it was, between the diets, to appoint officers of the first rank to vacant places, filled every place of influence and importance, with men attached to themselves by the same views, supported either by common interest, or by common crimes. Not only the senators themselves were most frequently and carefully chosen out of those who possessed grounds, acquired by invading lands belonging to the crown; but also, several *capita familie*, and other gentlemen, having, in the same manner, and by laws enacted for facilitating such invasions, seized some lands from the crown, and for a trifling sum of money, serving only to give such rapacity the name of purchase, had put in their possession many hundred different pieces of ground, of which the crown was the former

former proprietor : it also now remained, to put only such men in the most important offices, in order to procure for the senate, security and protection in practising abuses and insolences. Whence it happened, that no sooner was the senate threatened with an approaching account of their misconduct, but hints were given of an imminent danger all proprietors were in, of losing their lands, gained either in a lawful or unjust way ; and thousands were found ready to protect the insolence of the senate, under pretence of defending lawful possessions.

Some presidents, counsellors, or assessors of the colleges being appointed from among men who were mingled in these very interests ; and the colleges having immediate influence on all the affairs of the kingdom, it, of consequence, was the means the most expedient to make the common abuses of the colleges and senate steadfast and uncontrolable ; particularly

as some of the members of the colleges, being *capita familie*, were representatives during the diet. It equally paved the senate and the colleges an easy way to the legislative power, as it gave them vigour and strength in the maintenance of the judicative and executive power, which they exercised between the diets. No change, however, was made in the written constitutions, still adjudicating the supreme power to the four states alone; nevertheless, one might now see the face of affairs changed, by the common misconduct of the senate and the colleges, exerted no less in enacting new common laws, than by factious parties always acting against the constitutions. This legislation was practised by them, under the name of explaining the more obscure sentences of the common law, by new ones thus enacted; but, in reality, numberless new laws were by them frequently enacted, containing a sense quite contrary to
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the former, which the latter were designed to elucidate. Doubts were never wanting about the sense of one or other line of the common law, as soon as either the malevolence of a judge, or the perfidy of any usurper wanted a new law, either to secure his misconduct, or to forward an intended violence. Even the provincial judges, or lawyers of the country, and the smaller towns, found means to misunderstand and elude the laws in favour of violences by them exercised. Questions were frequently derived from the common law, and were proposed to the senate, or to the colleges, and by them explicated and decided by the new laws, which it was the custom to publish by the clergy from the pulpit, in all churches over the kingdom, as soon as he had finished his sermon.

There now no longer remained the least difficulty in exercising as uncontrolled insolence, as universal inhumanity; and the

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one or other individual of them, by his too apparent or uncommon shock against some of the criminal laws, might have thrown himself beyond the reach of being supported, or his violences protected, by the rest of his party; and he thus might have fallen a sacrifice to the criminal law: the whole nevertheless subsisted; and such an example only served to secure the whole in an universal exercise of secret crimes or oppressions, in the same proportion as the allowed punishment of the few individuals gave the whole an appearance of virtue and justice. So that since a more universal corruption had got the better, there was within each small circle of power, almost as many monstrous tyrants, as there were found classes of ignorant wretches, who sometimes neither knew, nor dared complain of their misery; for complaints, proffered in the ordinary way of law-suits, were the most common path to the last degree of sufferings;

ings; for the greatest oppressor and the judge being most commonly united by party or interest, and the judge moreover placed in his office for life, usually in such a manner as to be able to protect the most cruel oppressions, and by them likewise to be equally protected; therefore, the just complaint of the injured, was often considered as a crime committed against laws prohibiting unlawful access to trials; and he was punished before his cause was heard, or often persecuted, till he was too weary to pursue, or too poor to purchase justice. Human passions are infinite, and the objects serving commonly to satisfy them, being only of a limited nature, the enjoyment of them, instead of satisfying the human heart, only serve to stir its desires, and give the passions more force. The three objects of all human passions being honour, interest, or pleasure, none, therefore, in fact, thinks his honour too great,
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his advantages too extensive, or his pleasures too entertaining; and though, in compliments only, the words are used in a quite different manner of expression, experience itself nevertheless proves, that as each man is born with human nature, and consequently with self-love, he accordingly desires and passionately loves his chief object conform to his inclination; and he only wants a convenient opportunity, for being insensibly inclined to think, he can never enjoy his darling too much. No less natural grew the desolation of Sweden, since once the shackles of liberty were broken; when once pride, avarice, and voluptuousness had no more obstacle, each oppressor could find his object within the smallest circle, and in the lowest station, and the corruption could not but grow the more universal, and the most destructive.

Justice, the strongest pillar for supporting freedom, and the lasting support and
comfort

comfort of each governor, even when all other means of securing himself should appear fluctuating and uncertain, was thoroughly neglected in Sweden; and it grew a custom and a kind of complaisance, to commit the most villanous injury, and to oppress virtue and innocence, merely in order to do a favour to a friend.

The jurisdictions of Sweden, the country being extensive and thinly inhabited, use to be of very great extent, and of different establishment. Each town had its own magistrates, divided into two bodies, headed by one mayor or consul, in the smaller towns; but in the larger, there are two mayors; the one appointed for civil, and the other for criminal matters. A third body existed, when matters concerning the custom-house, or smuggling, were tried. The senate, and particularly the king, nominates the mayor out of three, chosen by the inhabitants of the town

town from amongst the lawyers, and proposed to the king's choice. He keeps his office for life, as well as the twelve counsellors adjoined to him; who are chosen by the inhabitants from amongst themselves, and are supported by the traders of the town, in the same manner as the mayor, by an annual, though small salary.

The country jurisdictions, of which there are two or three in each province, according to its extent, are distinguished from the jurisdictions of the towns, by different laws and judges; for the judge, though appointed by the king, in the same manner as the mayor of the towns, is, however, not chosen by the country people, but, on the contrary, by the high court, (in Swedish, *Hofrat*.) Three lawyers are appointed, and proposed to the king's nomination; and one of them having obtained his warrant from the king, he is, for life, judge of that jurisdiction, together with twelve peasants chosen by himself,

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and adjoined to him, under the name of *twelfmen*. The establishments of the city and country courts agree with one another, in so far, that the mayor, in towns, has two votes, and each of the counsellors only one; and the country judges (called, in Swedish, *haradshofdinge*) have two, and each *twelfman* has one vote, in judging causes; however, particularly in Finland, where the peasants know only their own language, quite different from the Swedish, but the advocates are ordered to plead in Swedish, and all the judges writings and discourses being carried on in the Swedish language: the *twelfmen* serve only to fill up their number appointed by the country law.

From both these courts above mentioned, the discontented part had liberty to appeal to a higher court; and accordingly, the same matter was tried a second time, either in the *Lagman's* court, in *Landchancelli*, or in the *Hofrat*; in the first,

first, if the cause is a civil matter; in the second, if oeconomic; but criminal matters are submitted to a farther discernment of the *Hofrat*. In matters respecting trade and commerce, the cause was remitted from the towns to the college of commerce at Stockholm. To these trials above mentioned, the party complaining is bound to send his complaints, or, in some cases, to appear in person, within a certain time appointed by the law, and by the first judgment. But no time being fixed, by the Swedish laws, to the judges, for finishing the causes, each matter was often retarded in suit for many years at each court of trial; whence it happened sometimes, that the persecuted either never obtained justice, or, if he did so at last, he gained a small matter, in exchange for having lost his wealth, his time, and his best years; while he who did the injury, in the mean-time, grew wealthy and proud on the ruin of the complaining party.

This happened the more frequently, when the same cause was tried a third time, at a still higher court; which, according to the variety of matters, was performed in the different colleges at Stockholm, or by the *Hofrat*; and the same subject being yet the fourth and the fifth time judged by the senate, and then by the states during the diet, a persecutor wanted but a matter of trial to be able to do any thing, if he was an adherent to the judge, and if the latter was as much dependent on him; and some of the judges, from the first to the last, being all joined by the same ties of common misbehaviour, their interest became the same, in protecting one another's sentences and judgments.

Sufferings, in proportion as they grew common, generated a common desire of safety, the moment of which, the enemies of liberty attentively looked upon, as the day most suitable for affording them the victory.

Commerce

Commerce or trade, the cultivation of mines, and agriculture, now began to languish and evanish, as soon as they were, in an uncontrollable manner, disposed of by those respective colleges, who could exert no less the legislative than judicatory and executive power and influence, according to their private interest ; and the most industrious people, who lived by the cultivating of such trade, took their flight from the country, in proportion as the difficulty increased of subsisting and supporting their families in the way of their business.

The colleges of commerce, mines, and chamber or finance, as if they had lost the sense of sight, and nothing had now remained to them, but that of feeling what fell into their private hands, lost the view of the whole national interest ; and only some few small bodies and places, or often some single individuals, were regarded, and allowed, by explained laws, to ex-

ercise monopolies ; and all the rest of the citizens being excluded from the same prerogative, and their only business to live upon, being the cultivation of trade, they were, in a manner, as much commanded to starve, as prohibited from living by their profession.

The college of commerce, having in its power the management of matters relating to traffic and trade, did, for instance, by enacted laws, prohibit foreign vessels from arriving at Stockholm, with any other cargo but that of ballast of sand or stone, in order to reserve the gain of exportation to the country, and extend their own navigation, in proportion as no other but their own vessels were permitted to carry on the traffic. This law also wanted nothing to make it effectual, but only another law capable of prohibiting all foreign vessels from sailing to any other place than Sweden or Stockholm ; but this latter being ridiculous, the former could

could not but at once destroy all traffic in Sweden; and in the same proportion as it shut the harbour of Stockholm, it opened those of Petersburg and Riga, for the trading nations of greatest interest to Sweden. England and Holland, chiefly, finding it far from their interest to export from their flourishing countries, nothing but sand or stone to Sweden, in exchange for which, they could not obtain the Swedish iron: they rather began to export valuable commodities to Russia, for obtaining, not only Russian iron and flax, but likewise several other rich productions of that country. Within a short time, were also seen in Sweden, ruined merchants, and nothing heard of but bankruptcies, and beating of drums in the streets, in order to catch those miserable people, whose ruined trade and credit had forced them, since they were incumbered with insolvable debts, to look secretly for their safety abroad. Nothing bears con-

straint less than commerce, it being carried on by each individual's desire of gain ; the motive is too natural, and cannot be effaced by political restraint, but, on the contrary, irritated to exert itself with more force, in a hurtful way. Smuggling and deceit are the first effects of it, though attended with the ruin or destruction of those who practise it ; and when no other means remain, either for supporting life, or satisfying the desire of gain, they must leave the country, and retire to another, where there is a possibility of satisfying themselves ; like those rushing torrents, which, stopped in their natural course, first stagnate, and then break out like an inundation, in a direction according to the nature of the ground.

The artisans experienced the same fate as the merchants. The traffic and circulation of money being stopped, the artisans were under the necessity of selling
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air tools, and locking the doors of their work-houses. Money having been granted by one party of rulers to certain artisans, in order to encourage arts and manufactures, it was no sooner employed by the receivers, but another party rose to govern, who sequestered the artisans from their work-houses, and extorted from them the intended encouragements, just when they were going to reap the intended fruits. About 500 workmen, of the most important arts, reduced to the utmost distress and extremity, were seen, in the years previous to the revolution, to leave their native country, and retire with their families to Russia, in order to get their bread. The patrons or possessors of iron-mines, commonly the richest people in Sweden, (there being about 430 iron-mines) were, in a few years, reduced almost to the same situation with the merchants and tradesmen; for none of the merchants being any longer able to purchase

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chase the iron from the proprietors of the mines, and few, in course of time, wanting the Swedish iron: all this brought on the poverty of the patrons, and the ruin of their iron-mines; they having, moreover, been the basis of Sweden's formerly flourishing state, their ruin could not now but thoroughly and speedily weaken that kingdom. The college of mines, very likely as corrupted as the other courts, and to which the management belonged, not only of civil and æconomical causes, but likewise the adjusting of matters, concerning all those inhabitants of Sweden who were employed to work in the mines: this college might, in all probability, have contributed to their ruin as much, as did the same, the intimate connexion of a destruction, inseparable from the trade and the mines, since the traffic had been once destroyed.

The college of chamber managing matters concerning the finances and agricul-

ture of Sweden; and being, moreover, joined with the *chamber of revision*, which received and looked over the treasures gathered by taxes in the different provinces of the kingdom, was capable of taxing the people at pleasure, without the people being in the least capable of perceiving this miscarriage in all its extent. The stewards of each country jurisdiction, whose business it was to levy the taxes, each of them within his circle, were all appointed to their office by this college, in exchange for the enormous sums of money which they bound themselves to pay to one or other of the members of the chamber college, for the obtained stewardship. The ordinary annual salary of such a steward, being but a trifle, scarcely sufficient to support a single man during the course of a year: it could not fail to make this steward, although one of the lowest officers of the crown, a taxer, and a ravager of each jurisdiction;
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and he commonly was but the instrument of the chamber college; the more especially, if the governor of the same province was by private views attached to the college, which almost always happened. The taxes in general, and the land-tax in particular, are in Sweden divided often into twenty different sums; each of them being of different and variable quantity, the common people, and especially the peasants, never knew how much they must pay, but only how much they had paid; the sum of which being written in their books, they use to be satisfied, whatever might be the quantity paid, either of money, corn, or other kind of duties. In many cases of complaints, which ought to be directed either to the governor or the chamber college, or to the country judge, where the injured ought to seek redress: he soon was stopped in the usual way of courts and trials.

Privileged

Privileged courts of trial had been established conformably to charters granted to certain bodies of the state, in order to be judged by themselves, such as the nobility, clergy, universities, and the military body. But each court served, since corruption was introduced, only to propagate the corruption; for, the maintaining of order and justice being no more their object, violence, injustice, and cruelty, increased with the number of those, who could best practise those very crimes. So that, if ever it is tyranny, to bring innocence to the utmost unhappiness possible in human life, as, indeed, it is the greatest tyranny: there also were almost as many tyrants as there were found judges. A scaffold, ax, block, or hangman, when presented to innocents, are horrible spectacles indeed! but if death is the only comfort of the most miserable; then those Swedes who yet loved true virtue and honour, might rather have wished to have
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among them as many hangmen as they had judges; for the former could end, but the latter only would prolong an unhappy life. The hangmen might have done their business openly, and thus, perhaps, stirred some compassion yet remaining in the country, to relieve distressed virtue; but now, on the contrary, the judges maintained their employments secretly; for all trials in Sweden being carried on with shut doors, so that none, except the judges, the pursuers and defenders, are allowed to be present during any trial; and the judges being, besides, concealed under masks of false virtue, and splendid pride, few also knew them, and none could save the wretched victim.

The military, and most part of civil officers, had it in their power to resign their places whensoever they pleased, and sell their office to whomsoever paid the greatest price; which, in the country language, was called *accordera*. Though
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this custom might have served to give its office the more value, if, together with the sum of money paid for the place, personal virtue and ability had been required of those who were employed to fill such places ; but the latter being no more the case, this establishment only contributed to promote such candidates as either could have most uncontrollable access to the public treasures, or by briberies could deserve the countenance of the senate, or that of its favourites. It was indeed the custom, to examine some few officers before they were admitted to their places ; such, for instance, as were to obtain employments by fortification or gunnery ; but, the candidate knowing too well, that, conformably to the establishment and custom, his purse was first and chiefly to be examined, he accordingly was solicitous to prepare his skill rather in that, than in the other career of learning, in order to
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be an useful officer, either in the civil or military sphere.

One opportunity more remained to officers in the military service, for getting annually vast sums of money. A soldier's payment, being a trifle when considered separately from the whole sum destined for the support of a regiment; each soldier chose also rather to get his officer's leave to absent himself from the regiment, in order to gain, by his working in the country, a larger support for him and his wife and children; but, for the obtaining of such a permission, he was obliged to renounce his small salary within the regiment; which payment, the officers, from the lieutenant to the colonel of the regiment, both inclusive, divided among themselves. Whatever might have been the vices of the military state, they are excusable; besides that they in general had a small share in the government, their salary was too scanty; and foreign kings had for a-
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about fifty years, governed them, who knew better how to reckon their origin from old Swedish kings, than to imitate the real affection and qualities of those Swedish kings, who chiefly exerted their tenderness in carefully providing for their militia, when they were undisturbed by wars abroad. Many years sufferings, by violence and injustice, had made them weary of the government, without perceiving the faults of the governors; who, unmindful of their duty, and careless of the common welfare, persecuted true merit and honour, and rewarded such only as were willing to partake in their vices, and protect their crimes.

The three princes of Sweden, when they had attained the age of manhood, turned this situation of the militia to their advantage; and, by soothing the discontented party, and entertaining them with hopes of more favourable times for procuring them once satisfaction for suffer-

ed injuries; they gained each in their sphere, as many secret friends as there were sufferers; however, none of those officers could yet presume, that the expected satisfaction was one day to be extorted from the ruin of liberty, rather than from the usurpers of it. The rest of the court-favourites imitated the princes; and there grew, by and by, as many different parties of secret friends, as there were leaders at court to head the different sentiments of each division. Thus, within a state, where, merely by its corruption, things were already disposed for alteration, it grew, in a short time, an easy matter for the Swedish king to raise himself, from the most limited station, to a most unlimited despot.

The corruption of the clergy, particularly of those clergymen who were employed in a higher station, did, more uniformly than the common civil disorders, abate the genius and the manners of the people,

people, and retard all heavenly blessings from that country ; and, on the other hand, forwarded nothing but sin and shame ; for, there were found *almost* as many sacred monsters, as bishops and consistorials, who had changed and abjured the doctrine only, but, in reality, retained in their conduct, and protected at their ecclesiastical courts, all the vicious practices of popery. Offices of the larger and more important parishes, were sold by the bishops and consistories to those clergymen only who could pay them the most enormous sums of money. Among the civil and military officers, though they were oppressed, and suffered by the enjoyment of the most trifling salaries ; there nevertheless were found within them, taxed or fixed payments for places, and their errors were moreover supported and authorised by laws, which they thought just and equitable. But, in the ecclesiastical sphere, though the clergymen en-

joyed superfluous yearly incomes, they, however, regarded not the least measure in enriching themselves with the spoils of the lower clergy, or their poor widows and orphans; who, in regard to their subsistence after the death of their husbands or parents, depended in some measure, and according to the ecclesiastical laws, on the care of the bishops and consistories. The consistories and the senate having united interests, at least, in protecting one another's misconduct, the one being worshipped amidst sanctified prejudices of a religious zeal, the others supported by this ecclesiastical authority, in their common practice of abuses: it also united them both, and it was dangerous to attack, and impossible to resist, the violences of a bishop or his consistory.

Conformably to the ecclesiastical laws, each bishopric, of which there are twenty-six in Sweden, contained one or two consistories, consisting of one preses, being
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he bishop, and seven, or sometimes twelve
clergymen joined to him as members;
who, by the universities, used commonly
to be the professors of divinity. The pre-
ses had two votes, and each member one,
in deciding causes concerning the disci-
pline of the churches or schools within
their districts.

Besides the ecclesiastical consistories, at
each university is erected an academical con-
sistory, which is divided into the consistory
major and minor; where, according to the
academical constitutions founded by king
Charles Gustavus, June 27th 1655, civil,
œconomical, and criminal matters are dis-
cussed, in so far as they regard any indivi-
dual within the learned or academical socie-
ty. Members of the major or minor con-
sistory, being, in the former, the rector of
the university as preses, assisted by all the
professors; and, in the minor, the pro-
rector, preses, and seven or more joined to
him from amongst the tutors or masters

of arts, in quality of his counsellors; they, most commonly, (the juris-professors at Upsal and Lund excepted,) used to be without the least knowledge either in the theoretical or practical science of laws; which studies being of so great an extent, particularly in Sweden, where the laws are so numerous, and corrupted, the ability of knowing and executing them cannot be acquired, but by those whose business it has been designedly to study the laws; which having never been the business of the judges, either philosophical or sacred; they, in every judgment almost, were ready to commit as many faults through ignorance and prejudice, as by want of motives productive of justice or humanity. From the minor consistory appeals were allowed to the major; which, in Finland and Abo, very often used to be only from one room to another; the personal judges being the same. Betwixt appeal, *declinatio judicis*, and *exceptio fori*, they
seldom

feldom made any distinction. So great, indeed, was either their stupid ignorance, or unlimited insolence, when designed to protect one another's inhumanity ! The discontented party could further, according to the academical constitution, pursue his complaint from the major consistory to the pro-chancellor, who was the bishop ; and from him, to the chancellor of the university, one of the senators, who was also chosen to his chancellorship by the bishop and academical consistory ; but he consequently did nothing but confirm the sentences pronounced by the former. —From the ecclesiastical consistory, an appeal was allowed to the king.

One instance more, concerning some of the bishops and consistories, may here find a place, however, with disgust rather, than any propriety ; since it serves only to prove, how polluted even those hands were, which, one would be apt to think, could deal out nothing but heavenly

blessings. The place of a professor of law, being, some years ago, vacant at the university of Abo; conformably to the constitutions, three candidates of merit and abilities, did each of them publish and defend their theses, written upon some subject of law; but, instead of their being proposed to the king and senate's nomination, that one of them might be created professor of that science; the famous bishop Brovalius, being a favourite of the court, proposed, on the contrary, one named Olaus Pryfs, who was not included in the number of the three candidates, and had no other merit, than that he used to attend the bishop at his house, when drinking liquors. Such were, moreover, for their stupidity, looked upon by the bishop, as the most proper tools for intrigues, which could not be carried on but by ignorants, who, as placed within a society of learning, could not but retain the character and splendor of learned and honourable men.

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In order to come nearer to the disposition of ecclesiastical matters; according to the ecclesiastical laws, a student of divinity, having reached the age of twenty-five years, and obtained vocation from any other clergyman, or from some church, to assist them in the office; he presents his vocation, and a petition to the bishop and the consistory, in order to be ordained; if his petition is proved lawful, he is, by the bishop and consistory, consecrated, and sent to his place. The means for obtaining such a vocation, was no more the ordinary way, but most commonly by addressing himself to a clergyman's daughter, and demanding her in marriage; he then obtained the father's vocation in order to be his aid. With this vocation, returning to the bishop and consistory, he thus was consecrated for the service of the church. Never was a clergyman who had a daughter, without aid; which increased the clergy above five times

times the number requisite in the kingdom. Their salary, which was paid them by the clergymen of the place, being the most trifling, they were under the necessity of subsisting on the generosity of the parishioners; which altogether contributed, on the one hand, to burden the common people, and, on the other, to weaken the state, by increasing the number of distressed clergymen, who were ready to be bribed for any reward adapted either to their genius or to their exigencies.

When the place of a chaplain or rector of the parish was void, the *Probst*, a clergyman over several parishes, did, by letters, inform the bishop and the consistory about the vacancy happening by the deceased clergyman's death. It being, by the laws, adjudged for the widow or the orphans to continue one or two years in the enjoyment of the usual incomes of the office possessed by the deceased; another clergyman

clergyman is also appointed by the consistory for carrying on the business in the mean while. During these two years, and within three months from the first day of the vacancy, each clergyman within the bishoprick, who wishes to succeed the deceased, must send his petition to the consistory, which, within these three months, forms the proposal, by pointing out three clergymen from among all those petitioners, in order to send them to the vacant place, to preach each of them one sermon successively, on different Sundays, for giving the auditors proof of their gifts and abilities. This being done, the *Probst*, within whose district the vacancy happens, or any other clergyman, ordered by the consistory, must be present in that church the fourth Sunday after, in order to ask the congregation, whether they have any thing to object against these three clergymen, or not. If there is no objection made, the congregation

gation proceeds to give, in the church, the following Sunday, openly, their suffrages for these three proposed candidates. One of them having obtained the majority of suffrages, and, as such, being announced to the consistory, he is, by the bishop and consistory, invested with that place. But, in case of objection, further proceedings are delayed, till the complaint has been decided, either by the king or the country judge. This constitution wants nothing to render it the most happy, but good men to maintain and execute it. But now, the good men being out, and wicked men placed in the management of these things, their conduct was stained with lewdness, avarice and partiality. From among the petitioners, chosen by the consistory, and proposed to the congregation, the most deserving, learned, and able men for that office, were neglected, or persecuted; and, on the contrary, the richest, or the most serviceable

able for the intrigues and the usual bribes practised by the consistories, were much regarded, and preferred to the former. For being able to exclude from the proposal, a man universally renowned for his merit, without being liable to any public reproach, the consistory used to instigate, by letters, some very old clergymen, to petition for their being only once proposed; and thus, their number of years employed in the service, served to exclude another, who was younger, and whom the consistory was willing to have excepted from the proposal. Such old men were always found, in great numbers, within the bishoprick; and who, in reality, neither desired, nor could obtain the vacant place; but, on the contrary, and most frequently, if two of such old men were proposed, and the third was a favourite of the bishop; these two served only to procure a plurality of votes to the third, who was the favourite; and thus, the consistory,

consistory, at any time, could forward its designs, if only valuable oblations were offered upon their altars. Within the congregation, were, besides others, some favourite clergymen, secretly employed, to procure a plurality of suffrages, by whom each suffrage was paid with considerable sums of money, distributed, chiefly, amongst those within the congregation, who had the greatest influence upon the husbandmen, as being voters in the parish. Vast and turbulent parties were used to be stirred up, and supported, in such a case, on purpose to divide the suffragers, and manage the votes according to the prospects. If, by open violences and briberies, a zealous and amiable candidate happened to be injured, and if, for instance, he was capable of proving, that money and liquors had been used, in order to influence the suffragers in favour of his competitors, he thus, according to the laws, was obliged to give in

his complaints in writing, to the consistory, the governor of the province, and to the country judge; but he soon was stopped, in the customary way of courts, trials, and judges. The same thing happened if he had addressed himself to the king, for proving that the consistory had injured him, when, by making the proposal, his petition had not been attended to at all, but, on the contrary, men of less merit and candour had been preferred to him. In such a case, the consistory being obliged to give to the king a declaration of their proceedings, they not only reported the injured clergyman to be younger by several years, than the books at the place of his birth, and the archives of the consistory proved him to be; but, were he even the most learned and accomplished man among them, the consistory now employed all their cunning for representing him to the king and senate, as the most simple or wicked one, that ever was produced

duced in their schools; and for the rest, he was certain to be persecuted by the bishop, as long as he lived, and never get his bread, if it happened not that there arose another Pharaoh, who, by chance, knew Joseph.

There are, respecting their rights to the grounds which they till, four sorts of peasants in Sweden, viz. such as are proprietors of the ground they cultivate; secondly, those who inhabit and till grounds belonging to the crown; thirdly, those of the nobility; and fourthly, peasants cultivating grounds belonging to some of the gentry. But they used all to be gained, and raised in parties, only by the persecutions of those who were most capable of threatening them. The first class feared the judge, who, in any case, could, by injustice, deprive the wretched proprietor of his possession. The second dreaded the lowest officer of the crown, of whom there is one almost within each parish, or, at least,

least, over two parishes; and who, for any pretended fault attributed to the crown peasant, can turn him out, with his wife and children, from the crown's ground, and throw them into a starving condition; and this the more easily, if the crown-officer act conjointly with the judge, which they never fail to do. The nobility and gentry, being possessed of grounds, are able to do the same to the holders of their lands. There also was no country place secure against persecution; and few, indeed, among these poor spoils of mankind, who groaned under the heaviest burdens of the state, found compassion, or could escape the most inhuman persecutions, when their oppressors found the least interest in it. Never were they less pitied; than since lately the usurpers had invaded the liberty; for these wretches were now deprived of their lands, and publicly whipped with rods, only for having complained about open violence;

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their advocates too, who ventured to condemn such cruelty, and to plead the cause of those human victims, were imprisoned, and punished, some by being fed on bread and water, and others with considerable fines, besides several years confinement.

Relating to the clergy: One instance happened, some years ago, in Finland, regarding the famous Bishop Brovalius, at Abo. The governor of some of the Finnish provinces, having refused to admit a certain man to one of the lowest places of a crown officer, in a parish situated within the bishoprick; the petitioner, having heard that nothing was impossible to this bishop, he also addressed his petition to him; the bishop, in spite of the governor, assured the petitioner, that, within a certain limited time, he should be in possession of the office petitioned for; which accordingly happened. It was great pity, that this spiritual did not live longer; he, certainly, though a protestant, might, in
course

course of time, have mounted the pope's throne at Rome; for his passions knew no bounds. A vast number of parishes in Sweden are considered as regalia; which are immediately provided by the king with clergymen, as soon as the consistory have informed the court of a vacancy in any of such parishes. In Stockholm, besides a few other places in Sweden, the parishes are less subject to the influence of the consistories, than in general; however, since wicked men have begun to manage the reins of government, no place, nor any establishment, could be guarded against the virulence of their actions; and the briberies were, in all places, much the same; so that, what, long ago, people of reasoning had thought or foretold, now the common people, and some enthusiasts, began to confirm, though in their own language of crying, preaching and prophesying. Some amongst them imagined they saw legions of devils; others looked for Christ coming to judge the

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world; and another part diverted their foolishness, in endeavouring to explain or investigate the infallible sense of the mysteries of St. John's apocalypse. Those, on the other hand, who yet endeavoured to preserve constancy, reason, and manly virtue, but could scarcely avoid, however dangerous it was, the betraying of their virtue, either by some languishing air, or gloomy silence: their lives were secretly attacked, by those who desired all citizens to become either fanatics or partisans.

A vacant bishop's chair was filled in the following manner. All the clergy in the bishopric being convoked within each *probstery*, they gave their votes for any clergyman whom they considered as the best qualified to succeed the late bishop. The votes having been thus gathered, were sent by the *Probst* to the consistory. Three of those clergymen who had obtained the majority of votes, (who most commonly used to be some of the members

bers of the consistories) were, by the consistory, chosen, and proposed to the king and senate, where one of the three candidates was elected, and created bishop. The *Probst*, being a rector of a parish, on whom the consistory conferred this honorary title, and the survey of more parishes, with some increase of his annual salary; he accordingly used to be thoroughly addicted to one or other member of the consistory, to whose briberies he thought himself chiefly indebted for his honorary place. There were besides, several rectors of parishes, on whom the consistory used to confer the mere honorary title of *Probst*, without further peculiar influence in public, or any augmentation of his annual salary; till some of the former *Probsts*, whose number was fixed, left, by his death, his enjoyed prerogatives to be further disposed of by the bishop or the consistory. The bishop to be created, behoved also, either by him-

self, or his partisans, to bribe in three different places, for obtaining the bishopric. The *Probsts* were employed in the parishes; mutual services prevailed within the consistory; and obligations to future services were more especially required in the senate; and in all the three places, money, or other kind of presents, effected the rest; which expences were afterwards reimbursed by a kind of traffic carried on, in selling souls and parishes.

There is but one archbishop in Sweden, who is chosen by all the consistories, most commonly from amongst the bishops all over the kingdom; and the plurality of votes being presented to the king and senate: he who has surpassed all the others by his attachment to the court, is, in all probability, nominated archbishop. His prerogatives consist almost entirely in the preferment of honour, or permission to perform at the court the more solemn administrations

nistrations of ecclesiastical rites, when he is wanted by the royal family.

In as much as the archbishops, in almost every one of the preceding diets, have been chosen speakers of the clergy, their public conduct hath not always been without stain. To increase their private interest, and to preserve it, by propagating among the people ignorance and superstition, together with a slavish devotion, and brutish stupidity, seem rather to have been the objects of their zeal, than to promote the common welfare; by cultivating true virtue, or by enabling the minds of the people, either to know the value, or to aspire to the enjoyment, of their freedom.

To shew, lastly, and before this second part is finished, how corrupted this state was from the top to the bottom; and how universally ignorance and inhumanity had occupied the minds, and penetrated the hearts, as well of those who were born and bred to save the human race, as

of those who were said to be the very ravagers of mankind: we may, for example, here mention some few adventures of a Swedish gentleman; who, after having, during his travels for many years in several European countries, got an opportunity of some better education than could be expected, at that time, in his native country, returned to Sweden, merely out of compassion for some of his countrymen, more than for any benefit to himself. As, on the one hand, he could never think that the court had any intention of changing the Swedish constitutions, or to overthrow the liberty; so, on the other hand, he could not but certainly persuade himself, that if ever the most insolent licentiousness should be checked, and the pride, exerted by an inhuman aristocracy, should be humbled, it could not but be expected preferably from those whom he thought providence had, by their birth and education, raised above the rest of men,

men, that they might be enabled, as much to surpass them in goodness and humanity. Accordingly, as soon as he was within the Swedish territories, he turned his views towards the present king, who, at that time, was only crown prince of Sweden, and wrote to him a letter. The gentleman being young, or about twenty-three years of age, when he set out from his country, and having, during his travels, in six or seven years, learned, however, in the course of his education, more than by his own experience, to know the situation of his mother-country; he accordingly knew too little, since the corruption of his country was far above what he could imagine: the court being too corrupted. In his most submissive writing to the crown-prince, by which he endeavoured to do his country service, he also could not avoid some general expressions, shocking to the prince's passions, on account of their not being exempt from the common

common weaknesses. His writings also were regarded with contempt, and his person left exposed to the injury of those who imagined themselves most offended by him. Within two years, the prince was attacked by all those misfortunes which the despised gentleman had, in his writing, desired him to avoid. The prince, now finding that he had abused the good intentions of this gentleman, made the last error worse than the first; for, instead of following motives of generosity, by recognizing human frailty as incapable of being exempt from faults; the prince, on the contrary, imitated the examples of those monsters of men, who are ready to persecute those whom they themselves are conscious of having injured; on purpose to efface their own faults, by abolishing the most precious of human virtues. Such might the prince's conduct have been with regard to many others who pitied him; for, within a short time, he scarce had a-

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my friends at all; as such princes, indeed, are the most unworthy of having any. His favourites too, who formerly flattered his passions, merely in order to satisfy their own, now began to show those of the prince to the people in public, in order to make him as much detested by the lower sort, as he was hated by themselves.

This gentleman, not daring, for some time, to approach Stockholm, hid himself in some small country place, for two reasons; first, for retiring himself from the sharing in public crimes, inevitable, in case he had been forced to enter into public service; for he saw men of the utmost integrity, who, since they were engaged in the public service, took part in the common vices, which they could not forbear to practise, without exposing themselves and their families to be insulted, persecuted, and at last ruined by the fury of partisans. Secondly, he having, during his dwelling in several European countries,

countries, embraced this principle as a sacred law, never designedly to undertake or approve of any thing not agreeing with the laws and interest of that country where he lived; as being, perhaps, the true fundamental law for preserving the common rights of the human race. But it having happened, that when he, some years before, had travelled into Russia and Petersburg, that rebellions, at that time, were there fomented in almost every corner; which he had endeavoured to discover to those whom he thought attached to the Empress, and the government of Russia, as much as he possibly could, within a strange country and language; for he found, that the old scheme of the Demetrius, so remarkable in the history of that country, was, at that very time, carried on in Russia, as, indeed, it was three years after put in execution by the rebel Pugatscheff. He, at his return to his native country, feared that some party

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ty in Sweden might have been concerned in this Russian affair ; and, as he not only experienced the greatest difficulty in saving his life in Russia ; since he had uttered his disgust for those russians ; but likewise, being now in Sweden, he heard that the very rebellion was going on, which he had foretold the Russians when he was in Petersburg ; and, consequently, he feared the more his not having been mistaken. He accordingly kept himself privately in Sweden for some years ; and when, nevertheless, sometimes attacked, he defended himself publicly, according to circumstances, and despised those who had nothing to defend but their crimes only. He once visited Stockholm ; and finding, that the corruption there, far exceeded what he had heard or read about, he, after one year's stay in that capital, returned to the country, overwhelmed with double horror ; and was now fully determined to leave his native country altogether,

together, in order to get his employment abroad, either in Prussia, where, having before frequented the university, he had some acquaintance; or in England, on account of the invaluable blessing of liberty yet remaining in that country. As he meditated those things, during a twelve-months stay in a small country village, he heard news from Stockholm, that there had been a remarkable revolution, and the king had saved the kingdom. Glad of this news, though no body yet knew in what the safety consisted, he returned to Finland, and demanded the place of a tutor in the university of Abo; which was granted him by the consistory and chancellor, though out of a false complaisance, and without any salary. But his character being known to the consistory before; and he being noted by them as a person, who, by many years education received at home and abroad, now surpassed them in real experience; and whom,

whom, moreover, nothing could force to partake in their common vices, which he regarded as a stinking dreg of popery, by many years fermentation rendered more heavy rather, than purified: they had, therefore, agreed among themselves to keep him at a distance, and employ him only in such affairs as necessarily would either hasten his fall, or make him tired of them. This he soon observed, but gave himself no trouble about matters, which, in no case, could be worse than what he the year before had meditated, and would have eagerly put it in execution, had not his honest sentiments prevailed upon him to offer his faithful services previously to his mother country, whatsoever might be his danger amongst those who seemed to dislike his person, in proportion as they hated his integrity, and feared his obstinacy, though in no other matters than what concerned a compliance with their common wickedness.

It may here be mentioned, though by a short digression from the chief subject, that this gentleman, the preceding year, had taken some imprudent step, shortly after the late king Adolph Frederic suddenly dropped down and died at Stockholm. This gentleman had, two nights before, been attacked by a sudden disease, which for some time bereaved him of all hopes of recovery; but nevertheless, by good care, he was in a few days cured in so far, as to deprive him, perhaps, only of a better use of his senses; in which situation of health, he was so imprudent as to write a pamphlet with this title, "Memorandum against Christ's working false miracles, and exerting secret violences and murders." The time at which he wrote, considered together with the tragical event at the court, which happened only two or three weeks before, might have been capable to rouse against him the attention, though not the resentments

resentments of those who were not concerned in such indignities as he condemned in his pamphlet. In this pamphlet, he inveighed against some injuries and violences committed by the senators, and court-favourites in preceding times; and much defended either the innocence or the simplicity of the rest of the nobility, which rendered them incapable for the partaking of, or promoting, transgressions, which equally exceeded their virtue and knowledge; and were practised in a sphere as much above their station, as it was beyond the reach of their imitation. He sent copies of his manuscript to all the four universities of Sweden, exhorting those learned societies to join their skill, in order to prevent the further working of miracles, or their being extended any farther than either Christ himself had ordered, or were compatible with Christianity. Though his imprudence proceeded from motives of too much sensibility

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fibility and tendernefs, he nevertheless was, a few weeks after, by orders of the senate, brought before the high court of justice at Stockholm. As he loved nothing more, during his stay at Stockholm, than folitude and good books; nobody was particularly acquainted with him, except fome few clergymen, or other gentlemen who were known for their learning, or were of his old friends and acquaintances, and whom he, now and then, used to vifit. Accordingly, the high court of justice, or *Hofrat*, at Stockholm, were under the neceffity of calling for all thofe who knew him, and by whom he was lodged. They all, to his own furprife, witneffed and protefted, that, fince his childhood, they knew in him nothing but particular modefty; and that, in learning, he furpaffed all the countrymen of his age whom they knew; and that he, during his stay that year at Stockholm, had fometimes used to preach in the German,

man, and at other times in the Finnish churches, on account of his having studied divinity before his travels abroad; and now had only changed the object of his study, but not the motives of it, nor his sentiments. The court of justice examined him several times, both publicly and privately, and heard his defences, professed more from the history, than founded on the laws of the times. Though, at the beginning, they were enraged by their own stupidity, and exasperated by the senate, yet, at last, they grew ashamed of continuing to embroil their hands in innocent blood; and privately demanded of him, that he would act the fool, for affording them an opportunity of saving their consciences, without exposing their heads to the vengeance of the senate; who, pretending the breach of the laws, urged nothing more than the execution of an innocent. He at first refused to undergo the required foolishness, protesting it

to be much easier for the high court to do justice, than it could be for him to deprive himself of his reason; adding, that, though he would serve them, he nevertheless was incapable to satisfy their demand, as it must already be out of the senate's power to conceal their cruelty; since all the four universities might at least know the truth of both, if even they were not capable in all cases to defend it; and he moreover was willing, rather to expose his life to an open violence, than save it for more cruel and secret persecutions. During such debates on both sides, a surgeon was brought into the court of justice, whom the gentleman knew not before; and he nevertheless took it upon the oath of his business, that this gentleman, during the disease, and in the utmost disturbance of his health, had written this pamphlet: he was then dismissed from further trial; perhaps that they might avoid to discover their shame,
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by openly persecuting justice, and oppressing innocence, or in hope of better opportunity for persecuting him secretly, in some other way more adapted to their wishes. This piece of imprudence, or perhaps laudable virtue, was committed by him only about two years before; and he was now settled at the university of Abo.

This gentleman, during his travels, chiefly applied himself to the study of law, and some part of the belles lettres; and it being commanded by the Swedish academical constitutions, and likewise by some particular laws, for every one who intends to lay claim to an employment, in the sphere of lawyers, to publish and defend, beforehand, something upon that subject, at the university: he accordingly applied to the consistory; and, as usual, humbly begged leave to print his work, and publicly defend it, in the hall of that university. This demand, which never

before could be denied to any youth of learning, but was universally allowed and commanded to them all, particularly in the case above-mentioned, was now refused to him only; for they had, by consulting among themselves, uttered, that if this was allowed him, his abilities might be known, and applauded by the publick in general, and by most part of the learned within the kingdom; and, accordingly, it would then be impossible for them, any more to put a stop to his being accepted and patronized by virtuous friends, and men of integrity. Upon this illegality, exerted against the common and particular laws of that kingdom, the injured gentleman turned his complaint to the chancellor. The chancellor ordered, that he should be allowed to publish and defend his work, in such a manner as he demanded. He, therefore, as is usual, gave in his treatise to a department of the consistory, called the *faculty of the laws*, in order

der to be censured by them. It was written in the Latin language, upon the subject *de jure publico, privato, et gentium*. The consistory declared, by a bill, that his work contained matters belonging to *jus nature*, *jus universale*, *jus privatum*, and *jus gentium*; and, consequently, could not be regarded at all as a subject relating to the jurisprudence or law knowledge; wherefore, it could not be allowed to be published, or publicly defended, under that title. Whether owing to the stupid ignorance, or the contemptible meanness of those learned men, it, however, was the reward they gave to a countryman, who, on his private expences, and with great labour, had, for many years, travelled for his education. The mere effacing of the title of this work, was the same thing as effacing the intended fruit of it, with regard to the laws of that country before-mentioned. Nothing, however, happened, but what he had foreseen; and he still foresaw what

could befall him, within a circle of criminals, who had now joined together, and waited only for an opportunity of being able to hasten his fall.

In order, however, to divert himself with their ignorance, and, on the other hand, to attempt all means possible, and lawful for an honest citizen, before he would leave his mother country, and offer his service to any other part of mankind, he entered into a dispute with these learned men, and passed through all their courts and trials; but, what was still more shocking, his most irritated enemies used commonly to be his judges.

After having gone through the minor and the major consistory, where things were much the same as usual, he pursued his complaint before the chancellor at Stockholm, his excellency the senator and prime minister Scheffer, who did but confirm what the consistory had begun. He further advanced to the high court of
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chancellery, where matters concerning learning used to be reviewed and discussed. The counsellors of that court being the most polite and learned men, declared to him, that they were very sorry at not being able to do him justice, on account of the chancellor's being the president of that college, and his having before, as chancellor of the university, put his hand to, and confirmed, the decree of the consistories. The king and senate now only remained, to whom he at last preferred his complaints, after having laid before the public, in print, the chief arguments of his complaints, and having, besides, had an opportunity, by private audiences, twice, to give the king himself notice of his own sufferings, as well as of the injustice committed against a great number of citizens, both nobility and commons, whose cases, he likewise, as a lawyer, was pleading: but all was in vain. And the senate, however willing to punish him, either for his writings

writings or printings, or merely under pretext of abuse of trials, which latter is usual, if one lose a cause before the king, which hath before been lost before the lower judges; yet the evidence was so clear, and the publick so well informed of the truth, that they durst not venture to run the risk of any further persecution, besides those enormous expences which unavoidably must have been incurred by this gentleman, during the course of three years, while he was engaged in these contests.

During these proceedings, the king, likewise, either seduced by his flatterers, or by his passions, had given him shocking answers, as at some private audiences, he had solicited the royal interposition, in order to procure his people justice.

Further, during the king's stay at Ek-holmsund, a small distance from Stockholm, where his majesty usually resided during the summer season, this gentleman,

nan, on the 19th of August, in the year 1775, had approached the king, in order to relate to his majesty the misconduct of several senators and judges, who had deprived a vast number of the nobility, gentry, and peasants of Finland, of their lands and property, by violence and open injustice; whose causes, amounting to twenty-five most injured families, this gentleman was now entrusted to plead before several courts; but the king, being informed at Ekholmsfund of the gentleman's errand, refused him an audience, for seven days. The gentleman, at last, either suspecting the briberies of some senators and favourites surrounding the king; or imagining that his majesty was under a mistake; penetrated into the hall where the king's lifeguards used to stand, and which was the king's only passage, where he also thought to gain an unavoidable opportunity of speaking to the king. But his majesty, having undoubtedly designed

signed to avoid taking notice of this gentleman's errand, that he might not be under the necessity of shocking his criminal favourites, by doing justice to a complaining people, oppressed and ruined by them: the king, in order to avoid it with certainty, took a step, perhaps, unprecedented by any age: he went out through the window. This shocking event, which happened the 19th of August, the year above mentioned, struck the gentleman with such horror, that, from this very moment, he determined, within a few days, rather to leave his native country, than either to expose himself to an open injustice, or support himself as a lawyer, in a country, where his support depended on the ruin of those unhappy fellow citizens; whom, all uniformly conspired to plunder; and to whom, none would procure justice and safety.

If such be the reward of loyalty, chiefly towards subjects, the lower class of whom,

Whom, scarcely have it in their power to give any offence to a king, but, on the contrary, might often do him great services: what then may those not suffer, who are nearest him, and continually either partake in his heaviest burdens, or imitate his most splendid qualities? Or, what encouragement is there for good, if the world is to be ruled only by crimes, and wickedness alone is the object worthy a monarch's protection, and kings, consequently, by so many who penetrate into their most concealed actions, shall be imitated, not as the fathers of their people, but, on the contrary, like the enemies of virtue, and the tyrants of good men? Nothing is more frequently imitated than the court; and hence it is, *Qualis rex, talis grex.*

Numberless disgustful fates besides, marked by the meanest attempts of his enemies, and by his own uncommon hardships, this gentleman often underwent;

went; merely for his having espoused some just causes of his most distressed friends: but it would be no less tedious to a reader, than unbecoming an author, to entertain the thoughts upon a prolix enumeration of private events. His sufferings flowed from public sources, and were conveyed towards him, by those filthy channels, through which, when managed by wicked rulers, seldom run but malicious sentiments, and virulent actions. But his virtue being unstained: his patience, with which he suffered, and his vigour in the defeat of his undeserved persecutors, may, together with his innocent conduct, and his prudent measures, be the only objects of this detail, worthy the imitation of any honest man.

As far as I know, this gentleman hath now for ever left his native country Sweden and Finland, and travels abroad, till he finds a better one in his tomb; his name is GEORGE GEORGESON STÅHLBERG.

PART

P A R T III.

*The execution of the revolution ; and some
affairs of Sweden after that time.*

THE king of Sweden being crowned on the 29th of May 1772, he swore most solemnly, to rule the Swedish people according to their constitutions and laws; to protect the liberty, and not only, in his own person, to abhor unlimited power, but also, to regard him or them as his enemies, and enemies of the kingdom, who should endeavour to procure him that unlimited power, or, in any manner whatever, aim at the introduction of sovereignty. He being, the year before, in France,
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when his father king Adolph Frederic died, February 11th 1771, and mounting the Swedish throne the same year, on the 13th of February, at Paris: he avoided this oath till the day of his coronation, which happened fifteen months after. During this interval, and after his speedy return to Sweden, the revolution was several times intended to be completed; but the first measures not being universally agreed to by those who were concerned in prosecuting the king's designs, the resolutions were often changed, and the delay served to give the senate, and the *secreta utskot*, now present at the diet, a hint of some secret machinations, of dangerous consequences. The king, therefore, was under the necessity, in order to conceal his designs, to allow his coronation to be celebrated, and to take the above-mentioned oath, as being usual at all the coronations of the Swedish kings. Not only this oath, but also the sudden death of his father, during

during the absence of his successor from the kingdom, served to remove all suspicion at home and abroad about the intention of altering the government; which, now, seemed rather to be thoroughly in the hands of the senate, than at the king's disposal; and this, at the only time when any change could be expected, if attempted in the ordinary way; or, as it had sometimes before happened in Sweden, as in the reign of Gustavus I. or Charles XI.

As soon as the coronation was over, by which the king took the usual oath, of preserving the constitutions; and, consequently, no body expected any more attempts against the liberty from that side: the whole of the scheme was executed within three months from that very time. The day being fixed for the rupture, each of those who were more particularly entrusted with the king's secrets, and were to second him in the provinces, as soon as he should begin the attack at

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Stockholm, were now dispatched to the provinces, in order to take possession of the most important places and towns. The king's mother, and the Princess Sophia Albertina, her daughter, were in Pomerania, under pretence of their return from Berlin. The king's younger brother, Prince Charles, being colonel of the regiment of cavalry at Schone, was dispatched to that province, where he attempted to get possession of Christianstadt, a fortified town; and was chiefly sided by the Captain Heilakius, afterwards made a nobleman, and who is now called Gustavskiold. The king's youngest brother, Prince Frederic Adolph, who was colonel of a regiment of infantry, was ordered to second the king at a smaller distance; he accordingly occupied some provinces about twenty miles southwards from Stockholm, called Smoland, and Sudermanland. Colonel Sprengporten, and, immediately after the revolution,

Colonel

Colonel Carnal, were sent into Finland; both of whom, afterwards, were made generals. Colonel Sprengporten easily made himself master of Sweaburg, the first and strongest fortress which Sweden is possessed of on the Russian frontiers, situated in Nyland, and by the city of Helsingfors. Colonel Carnal, with his regiment, was soon after in readiness for the districts of Abo and Biorneborg, in case any reluctance should be shown by the citizens to obey any orders issued by the king. But neither Colonel Sprengporten, nor Colonel Carnal, knew the whole of the king's design; they having been informed only of his intention to humble licentiousness, and secure liberty. Both of these warriors, of whom the latter suddenly died soon after, and the former is crippled, were men of as much intrepidity as ever filled the heart of a Swedish soldier; with this further character, that Sprengporten, being a man of the utmost

exactness in point of honour; and Carnal, from religious motives, being scrupulous of any matter in the least shocking to virtue; they, accordingly, were both as easily gained by the king to his greatest advantage, though with a design only to oppress insolence; as, on the other hand, they would have been the readiest to oppose the king with all their force and spirit, had they known themselves to have been abused, in being employed merely to increase the king's power; as, moreover, Sprengporten did not hesitate to answer the king, when first invited to second him, that his body was too honourable for deserving to be buried under a gallows. Wherefore, at his return from Finland, the king, seemingly to reproach his answer, by rewarding his service, went out to meet Sprengporten at the place of execution, where, a small distance from Stockholm, the criminals use to be beheaded; and, ordering Spreng-
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porten to dismount from his horse, drew his sword, and, at that very place, declared him general of his guard, and commander of the order of the sword; but he, being soon after disgraced at court, resigned his place, grew sick, and still continues in a most pitiable state of health.

Each one being, as above mentioned, dispatched by the king, to second him, and manage his orders in the provinces: couriers frequently run between the king and the country places, which could not fail to awaken, if not the suspicion, at least the attention of the senate, and likewise of some of the members of the *secreta utskot*. Some intercepted letters, and others received from the spies and informers usually kept by the senators in all the provinces, did inform and assure them of the scheme; but too late. Prince Charles, and Gustavskiold, being now in readiness at Christianstadt, and there perceiving better in the province, than the

king in the capital, that their scheme was penetrated by the opposite party, and that the senate and *secreta utskot* were taking measures to obstruct the execution of the revolution, and to punish the king and his adherents: the prince, and Gustavskiold, therefore, found themselves under the necessity of beginning the motion at Christianstadt, and dispatched a courier with a letter, to Stockholm, which he was directed not to leave but in the king's own hands, wheresoever, after the utmost speed and diligence, he could join the king. The courier arrived at Stockholm about ten o'clock in the morning, on the 19th of August, which was the day before that on which the king was to be arrested, according to the measures taken by the senate, and the *secreta utskot*. The courier, on his arrival at court, being informed that the king was in the senate, where all the senators, at that time, were likewise present, he immediately went into the
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hall, and delivered the letter into the king's hand, with a compliment from prince Charles; which was sufficient to inform the senators of the contents of that letter. For, General Rudbak, land-marshal, or speaker for the representatives of the nobility, and a zealous patron of liberty, had been, some days before, sent *incognito*, by the senate and *secreta utskot*, to Christianstadt, in order to put a stop to the prince's and Captain Heilakius's machinations; but he not being admitted into the town, and it being told him by the centinels, that they did not want a general, and, if he did not retire, that they should soon lay him down: he, therefore, returned to Stockholm in a hurry, and informed the senate and *secreta utskot* of their danger; which could not allow the least delay in pursuing measures in order to prevent it. The senators, now supposing, that the letter received by the king in the senate, from the prince, could not but contain

some particular notice of that danger which could not fail to approach the king : one of the senators, by name Calling, attempted to snatch suddenly the letter out of the king's hand, when he was reading it, without, however, being able to get but a piece of the letter. The king, roused by the received outrage, but still more by the contents of the letter, which informed him of a greater danger : he, at that very moment, turned the back of his throne towards the table, retired himself from the hall, ordered the doors to be shut, and guarded by centinels, headed by Colonel Carnal ; and, on the spot, he went down and approached his lifeguard, which consisted of about two hundred men, continually standing by his palace ; but, when the whole of his guards are ordered to assemble on their watch, amounting to two thousand men on foot, besides the artillery. He also first made a speech to these few of his guard, shewing them

them the danger of his own life, the insolence of the senators, and the situation of the kingdom ; which latter, long before, had, by common oppression, as well as by the press, or more private informations, been made universally known. He exhorted them to assist him, in humbling an insolent aristocracy ; in saving his own life ; in depressing violences, and procuring happiness to his subjects. These were words, which, particularly in such a situation of common affairs, and when spoken by a king to his soldiers, were capable of engaging them to any thing whatever. They, wearied with sufferings themselves, and encouraged by some few of the king's favourites, who first answered in his favour, soon cried out, all with one voice, That they were willing to sacrifice their last drop of blood, in the defence of their king, and of their country. They then immediately took the oath, to follow, and to obey him.

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The senators, in the meanwhile, consulting one another about their present business, and what to do in the meantime; as the king did not return: his excellency Calling, answered, That they might begin to correct the records of the affairs judged that day in the senate. But the senator Walwick, standing at the window, and shewing them with his finger the king arranging his soldiers, told them, that the king was correcting the records, and that nothing remained undone for them in the senate, but to prepare their heads for some other kind of business. At these words, one of the senators attempted to get out of the hall; but colonel Carnal, with the centinels keeping the door, threatened him with execution on the spot, if he would persist in his attempt.

The king having thus gained his life-guard, advanced with them to the artillery-yard; and, partly by his speeches, made

nade to them in the same manner as before to his life-guard ; partly by the assistance of some of his favourites among the artillery, gained admittance. The door of the court being opened, and the soldiers of the artillery having taken the oath, he, within the space of two hours, had joined both these forces to his views.

The merchants, and the rest of the inhabitants of Stockholm, making up four regiments of cavalry and infantry, of the finest appearance, were almost gained by the king beforehand ; and they now all run to arms, most of them in the king's defence ; and those who were of opposite sentiments, seeing their number too small, did not attempt the least resistance. It, however, was ordered by the king, that those who were his friends, should all distinguish themselves, by tying a white cloth, or a handkerchief, on their left arm ; which was formerly wont to be worn in Sweden, by those who assisted as officers

An HISTORY of the

Officers in extinguishing fires, broken out in any house in Stockholm; but now, since the revolution, are universally worn by all military officers, who either are the king's friends, or choose to appear as such. Orders were issued by the king, that none should presume to appear on the streets of Stockholm, during some days, and the windows should be shut.

Orders were likewise sent to the provinces, and published in all the churches, that nothing but what the king or the princes ordered, should be attended to; which, in most places, caused the peasants of the nobility to rise against the latter, in order to shake off all obedience hitherto shown to them as proprietors, either of the ground, or of the taxes. This contest, joined to some others, have still continued in Sweden to disturb the nobility and gentry in the possession of their grounds; and to ruin the peasants at the courts of justice, where they have gained nothing

nothing but enormous expences, and cruel punishments.

Other orders were issued by the king, containing some short digressions upon the disorders, vices, and crimes ravaging the kingdom; and setting forth its wretched and ruinous situation, which had engaged him to undertake the saving of it; they, lastly, contained his command to all the subjects, to take the oath of allegiance to the king. The inhabitants of Stockholm were accordingly assembled in the churches, the representatives of the four states in their halls, and those who would not swear, were imprisoned; of whom there were found several. The subjects having before, under former reigns, sworn loyalty to the constitution and to the government, and likewise engaged themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to sacrifice all, and not even to spare their last drop of blood, in resisting any means tending to encrease the king's power; and
now

now to take an oath contrary to the former, could not be consistent, either with the education of the people, or good reason, religion, conscience, virtue, or honour. For this reason, there were found many, who, at the beginning, refused to take the oath, and who were consequently imprisoned; and others, who could no longer avoid submission, since either the most part had already taken this oath, or the utmost danger threatened those who showed reluctance: they also altogether did what was ordered them. But nevertheless, and in order not to load their conscience with a double stain, by promising, and executing a promise, which required an obedience contrary to their former most sacred obligations; they avoided the fulfilling of the latter promise thus extorted, by escape, as soon as their circumstances allowed them to leave the kingdom, without being exposed to other losses than those of their estates, or other private

private fortunes. Among others, one colonel Pecklin fled to Prussia, where he was favourably received, and happily placed ; however, by political reasons, perhaps, more than by motives of virtue ; since Prussia, in some respect, seems to have been concerned in the promoting of this very revolution. One Baron Rebinder went to Russia, and there made his fortune ; which he yet enjoys undisturbed.

The king being now in possession of his guard of 2000 men, and of the artillery ; besides four regiments out of the inhabitants of Stockholm ; he issued an order to the representatives of the four states, who were present in the city at that time ; which, in the most terrible words, commanded them altogether to appear on the 21st of August, in the forenoon, in the great hall of the realm ; and those who would not obey, were that moment to be executed. In this point of time, none, either in Stockholm, or in the whole kingdom,

dom, knew yet the king's real intention, excepting some few of his most intimate favourites. The 21st of August, the military force being collected by him, headed by his favourites, and provided with ammunition and military stores, were placed all around the king's palace, where even the great hall of the realm is, whether the representatives were ordered to assemble.

The representatives appeared at the time appointed, amounting altogether, viz. nobility, clergy, merchants and peasants, to about 1700 heads. They being assembled, the king mounts his throne, surrounded by his favourites, and makes a long speech to the representatives, which was afterwards printed, and is continually preserved, and exposed to publick view in all the churches in Sweden. In this speech, the king, in the strongest expressions, repeated to the present representatives, almost the same things which

had been published in his former speeches, or other printings, in the course of some years before. He repeated his complaints, and expressed his compassion for all kinds of sufferings, both public and private, of his subjects; but, most of all, he pitied the sufferings of those who were now present; he exaggerated the wickedness and the public disorders, in attributing the cause of it, not to those who were present rather, than to the most salutary constitution itself; he promised safety, and concluded his speech with the discovery of what he had hitherto concealed: he told them, that he had laws which he would cause to be read before them; and now it was, that the new fundamental laws were published, and the old constitutions annihilated; and thus the representatives were, by extortion, or when fear and want of opportunity allowed them no refusal, ordered to accept the new constitution, and to take the oath of its preservation;

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tion; which being done, they were dismissed, and ordered by the king to return each one to their houses and families. This new constitution, afterwards published by the king, expressed, that the States or representatives of the kingdom had established it.

As for the senators, still continuing in their prison, some of them being the court's secret and concealed favourites, they easily prepared the rest of their companions to such sentiments as were most compatible with their own situation, and with the king's forces; and they were all set at liberty, after having taken the new oath of obedience and allegiance. But soon after, the greatest part of them were deprived of their offices, the king partly disliking them, partly wanting their places for some others chosen by him from among those military officers, whom he distrusted, and looked upon as dangerous in their military station; and, in order to

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get rid of them, made them his counsellors. One among these, for instance, was the famous Count Ferfen, general of his life-guard, but not particularly concerned in the revolution; he, after having been raised by the king to one of the vacant places of senators, soon after took his leave, as being a man of too great skill, discernment, and experience, for being able not to penetrate the designs of the court.

The king being in want of money for rewarding his troops, and supporting his present party, went to the *contoir of the state*, and required 4000 ducats; but it being replied, that so much money was not in the treasury, he was satisfied with a lesser sum.

The prince Charles, and Gustavskiold, reduced the southern countries of Sweden to receive the new oath, and the new established constitution, without open reluctance; because it was all over the

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kingdom

kingdom concealed from the citizens, what in reality was meant by this revolution; and only told them, it was the king's intention to humble aristocracy, and to restore the safety long desired and wished for. Those who knew the truth, were few, and were at the same time assured, that nothing also was intended by the king, than the extension of the royal power on the one side, and, on the other, the strengthening of that very aristocracy so much complained of; by leaving to the people only the name and appearance of that supreme power, which, in reality, was by the new constitution, in the most unlimited manner, vested in the king alone, and, next to him, in some few officers, whom he chooses to adopt as his most intimate court-favourites. Those few, who knew this real intention of the king, were his most intimate favourites; and too villanous for renouncing their own private interest, rather than

than opposing the king's intention. Those who had honour or virtue enough, knew the scheme too late, for being able to make use either of their talents, or of their power, in order to prevent the execution of it. The usurpers, in order to forward their designs, without discovering their secrets, and no less to cover their schemes to the rulers themselves, than to prevent the public from being at any time able to penetrate the tendency of machinations by them practised: had, in course of several years, deceived the public, and imposed even upon men of skill and discernment, merely, by showing always the contrary of what, in reality, was bribed for. Objects were frequently invented, contrary to the truth, and shown to the public in a manner tending to conduct the opinion of the citizens, and prepare their minds in favour of despotism; or even to fix their attention upon matters merely fictitious, and far distant

from those real ones, which the fictions served thus to conceal.

The General Rudbak, for instance, a man of uncommon virtue, at present governor of Upland, after he was returned from Schone, where he penetrated Prince Charles's designs, and almost the whole of the king's intention, seized immediately one regiment of land troops, in order to second the senate and *secreta utskot*; but, before he could reach Stockholm a second time, Prince Charles's letter was received by the king in the senate, and the revolution completed; and General Rudbak was stopped on his march to Stockholm by those who met him, and convinced him and his troops of the impossibility and the vanity of such an undertaking; his forces, amounting only to about 700 men, divided into factions, and were scarcely to be relied upon.

Colonel Sprengporten executed the scheme in Finland, in the following manner.

General

eneral Biornrahm, who commanded the
rtrefs of Sweaburg, and was much at-
ched to liberty, being informed of some
tempt in view againſt the public ſafe-
, had taken ſome meaſures for being
formed of Sprengporten's intention at
orgo, a town in Finland, about fix Swe-
h miles from Sweaburg. Colonel
rengporten, who exerciſed his regi-
ent of troops on the field encompassing
is town, had been informed by his
les, that he was ſuſpected; and that
e magiſtrates of Borgo had been ex-
orted by the General Biornrahm to give
m notice of Sprengporten's movements,
when he was preparing to leave that
ace. Sprengporten, therefore, who,
th his troops, paſſed the nights in the
ld, in tents made for him and them,
e morning early left the field, in order
take poſſeſſion of Sweaburg. But, to
ceive the magiſtrates, and the reſt of
e inhabitants of Borgo, in order to pre-

vent them from giving General Biorn-
 rahm notice of his approach, Sprengpor-
 ten not only left his tents on the field,
 but likewise, in the night time, before his
 departure, placed the soldiers cloaths and
 great coats on the field, in such a man-
 ner, that they appeared to the magistrates,
 and others who, from the town, looked to-
 wards the field, as if his soldiers had laid a-
 long and rested on the ground. This stra-
 agem served, indeed, to deceive the inhabi-
 tants of Borgo for so many hours, that
 Sprengporten could, during that space of
 time, advance these six miles, and sooner
 reach Sweaburg, than the inhabitants of
 Borgo either could perceive that he had left
 the field, or could possibly join General Bi-
 ornrahm at Sweaburg. The same day, in
 the evening, Sprengporten arrived at Swea-
 burg; and, as no open hostilities, rebellion,
 or any other revolution, were, as yet, known
 in that part of the kingdom, he, as a
 Swedish officer, with an handful of Swe-
 dish

h soldiers, could not be refused admittance into the fortress; though it happened with some uttered reluctance on the part of General Biornrahn. As soon as he was within the fortress, he ordered a clergyman, who served his troops, a young spirited man, by name Krogius, to make his speech, prepared for that purpose, to the garrison, consisting of about 4000 men, who now were attacked by Sprengporten's, about 400 irregular troops. But, what the persuasion of his clergyman could not effect, (for there rose a murmur and division of opinions,) Sprengporten's stratagem, his uncommon courage and usual intrepidity applied; for he is described as a man who never had any religion, nor did ever fear God or man; however, he is a man who hardly would be surpassed, in what is called points of honour. As soon as he had entered the fortress, he did not hesitate to take the general, in the middle
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of his garrison; and though, in the beginning, he deceived him merely by means of compliments and friendship; he, by and by, made him enter into a room, being a sort of civil prison, where he compelled him, now by persuasions, then by threatenings, to take the oath of loyalty to the king. The rest of the garrison being, in the meanwhile, by the briberies of Sprengporten's officers divided, and caused to enter into other separate rooms, they were likewise ordered to take the oath to the king. The number of those soldiers who had thus sworn, increasing in a few minutes, General Biornrahm was deprived of his resources; which, notwithstanding his struggles, threw him into a situation, either to accept Sprengporten's grace, or to prove his sword.

Sprengporten being now in possession of Sweaburg, was capable not only to command the whole of Finland, which makes
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up almost one half of the kingdom ; but likewise, in case Russia, then employed in the Turkish wars, had, nevertheless, attempted to assist the states of Sweden, he had then been in a situation so strong and advantageous, as to be able, for some time, to oppose that empire.

Some struggles were raised in the northern part of Finland, but without any consequence ; small bodies of troops were intending to post themselves at Abo and Biornenburg, two important sea ports, in order to stop the king's undertakings, and recover the liberty ; but General Carnal, who had left Stockholm, soon appeared in Finland, and took the command of his regiment. He being a man universally beloved, for his personal and military virtue, and peculiarly so by all the soldiers, his bare name and presence were sufficient to inspire them with his courage and sentiments. After he left Abo, and was mustering his troops by Biornenburg, he
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died almost in an instant. He had got obstruction, and could easily have been saved by his surgeon, if he had been so prudent as to take his advice, which was, to retire for only one hour, into a warm room; but he, continuing still to muster his soldiers, replied, That it was his business rather to die in his king's service, than to leave his troops. This superstitious f--l did not, indeed, fail to keep his word; for, as his pains increased, and he became unable to stand on his feet, he leaned himself on the drum, and continued mustering till he was no more. He also both began and finished his military life by the drum; for, being a boy of the Finnish nation, he entered the militia as a drummer; and now, as above-mentioned, he died General, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

The governors of the provinces, amounting at that time to four, in Finland, viz, of the government of Louisa, Helsingfors,

fors, Abo, and Osterbotten, were, at the time of the revolution, in Stockholm, assisting at the diet, partly by their birth, as *capita familie*, and partly on account of their offices. Their employment was, in the meanwhile, carried on in the province, as usual in such cases, by the secretary of the province, and the land chancellor. At their return from Stockholm, some of them attempted to recover the liberty, but in vain. General Ramsay, the governor of Louisa, raised, by some intrigues, the peasants of the provinces of Nyland and Carely, as being within his government; but it is doubted, whether he did this as a favourite of the court, in order to oppose those oppressed peasants to the nobility and gentry, whose grounds the former cultivated, but now pretended to chase the latter from the possession of these grounds; or if Ramsay, in hopes of assistance from Russia, thought to support this motion, till the whole of Finland had
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been joined in the same rebellion, is not yet known. Certain it is, that the gentry and peasants are yet discontented with each other; and Sprengporten was ordered by the king, immediately to leave Stockholm, and return to Finland and Louisa, where he not only left those peasants, which, to the number of about four hundred, had been imprisoned, on free foot; but likewise privately attacked General Ramfay several times; and is said to have threatened his life. Sprengporten, on his second return to Stockholm, fell into disgrace at court; for the king, refusing his soldiers the leave of being tried according to the laws, by their own officers; and, on the contrary, allowing officers from other regiments, to assist as members of the college of war, when the soldiers of Sprengporten's regiment were condemned for exerted licentiousness; and Sprengporten seeing himself thus encompassed by the king's, and his own private enemies, but

refused to be further protected by the king: looked upon this behaviour of the king, as proceeding either from jealousy of his abilities, or weariness of his services; he accordingly took his leave of his service, and of the court; and refusing, likewise, to retain his annual salary, the king forced him to desist from this refusal, for fear that Sprengporten, being a man of no fortune, might enter into the service of any foreign state.

Thus the revolution in Sweden was accomplished without any bloodshed; which is to be attributed to two circumstances of the utmost importance; and deserves the more to be remembered, as this was the only way remaining to the king, for saving his own life, and that of the whole royal family. For the first, the people were yet so tired, by many years oppression, corruption, and cruelty of the aristocracy in general, and that of the senate in particular, that if the king, on his accession

sion to the throne, had not taken any measures to restore the public safety and tranquillity, the people should equally have risen against him and the court. Secondly: Each of the subjects having, in the most solemn manner, and by the most sacred ties of religion and oaths, been most expressly attached to the former constitutions, and obliged, by such motives, to sacrifice their whole property, and shed their last drop of blood in opposition to those who should only attempt to change the constitution; but particularly so, against the introduction of sovereignty, or any extension of the king's power; the least bloodshed also, if ventured on by the king, had been sufficient to raise the passion of the people; and the most cruel resentment, if exerted in this case, had been excusable by the laws, even if it had been attended by the most uncommon extravagance; especially, if in the least it had been perceived, that an alteration of the constitution

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tion was intended; the effects of which might have proved still more fatal to the court, when in reality the constitution was annihilated, and a new one substituted in its stead; not by consulting, but, on the contrary, by eluding, threatening, and terrifying those, to whom alone it was a property, and the dearest pledge of liberty, to enact and abolish fundamental laws.

It also was from concerted prudence, and unavoidable necessity rather, than through motives of virtue and clemency, that blood was spared upon this occasion; particularly, as there were none sufficiently prepared for making proper resistance. Or, if it must necessarily be called virtue, then the conduct of every highwayman deserves to be praised as more virtuous, when he stops a coach on the highway, and, after having robbed the people of their property, he spares their lives; which such a robber might often have no less easily

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fily deprived them of, without increasing his own dangers. For, carrying the comparison of this morality still further, the king of Sweden's conduct may, however, retain more resemblance of virtue, if we consider, that, in most of the European countries, England excepted, the robbers on the highway use first to attack the life; and, after having committed the murder, they then look for the spoils. Consequently, if this principle is true, that a lesser evil, in comparison with a greater one, may be called good; a lesser crime also, relative to the most enormous one, may be called virtue. Not without reason I may obviate some objections to this strophe of thoughts, as being inconsistent with the respect due to majesty. I am the more inclined to own it to be true, since I myself, in all my lifetime, have looked upon that object with the utmost respect, and considered it as the most sacred of human establishments; and which
never

never should be stained with meanness and indecency ; but, in so far as majesty is above the rest of humanity, it should equally excel all those lower stations by accomplished qualities, and be adorned with real virtue ; which, that it may probably be expected for the time to come, rather than be entirely banished from human societies, is my only intention, by having thus discovered the truth, and laid the morality of it in its proper light.

But, if weakness, and faults, are excusable, when committed in consequence of being seduced by others to be guilty of them ; the king of Sweden may, perhaps, find all those pleading in his favour, who know, that from a child he has been accustomed to follow the systems of his mother, the queen-dowager ; and his manhood has wanted strength, to avoid being misled by her. She also having been, for many years, considered in Sweden, not only as an enemy to the liberty of the

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people,

people, but likewise, as inured in hatred to the country: it is not, therefore, to be expected, that the schemes she pursued, should have either been founded upon principles of the utmost firmness, or executed with the most unblemished innocence. The king of Prussia, as being, for the present, perhaps the *primum mobile* of the known world, is supposed to know the interest of his own territories too well, for being able to lose sight of it; as, on the contrary, the rulers of Sweden, since men of wisdom and integrity are no more suffered in the management of the government, seem thoroughly to be ignorant no less of the present situation of their state, than of the issue of their affairs.

In a more particular manner, the situation of the Jesuits in Spain, prepared the minds of the Swedes for a passive compliance with all the undertakings of the Swedish royalists. As soon as this society was chased

chased from Spain, they were, from the Swedish press, as well as in all private conversations, frequently represented as concealed enemies to the throne, and who pursued nothing but hostilities against the whole of mankind. So far indeed had the minds of the Swedes been prevailed upon, by writings of this kind, and prepared for a stupid devotion to the court and royalists of that kingdom, that none, either at the very time of the revolution, or even some time after, ventured to defend the liberty, or oppose the royalists rash proceedings, without danger of being styled a Jesuit, an enemy to the throne, and to mankind. These sentiments, however, began to vanish, as soon as the revolution had been accomplished in Sweden, and the king of Prussia had enriched his dominions by a vast number of opulent and useful fugitives; which kind of politics had often before been in use in that kingdom; as, for instance, by the Straf-

burgh, French, and some other emigrations, which served to people the deserts of Prussia.

Even the liberty of the press was now abolished by the king of Sweden ; as he declared, by his new constitution, that all those constitutions established since 1680, and considered as fundamental laws, should henceforth be annihilated ; of which the king, and the new senators elected by himself, did not fail to make the application, as soon as the revolution was over, to the liberty of the press, introduced into Sweden in 1766, and reckoned amongst the fundamental laws. In this shocking case, there, however, was yet found a man in Sweden, who, possessed of ability, and encouraged by his own uncorrupted mind, would venture his private fortune, by exposing the king and senate, rather than see his countrymen thus deprived, even of that liberty which was the only thing capable of saving them from being by and
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by ranged far below the rank of the wildest beasts in the northern forests. It was the famous Hopner, the most learned lawyer in Sweden, and formerly assessor of the high court of justice at Stockholm, who now rose publicly against the king and senate; and he, after having been prohibited from printing some trials, wrote a pamphlet against the prohibition, and published it all over the kingdom; which, as it contained the most convincing truths and reproaches against the inhibition of the press, obliged the king to recal this his proceeding, by issuing a new law, permitting the liberty of the press.

The contents of this law were as follow :

In the preface he says: “ As there is no-
“ thing more valuable and sacred to a
“ free people, than what can afford them
“ light, and give the monarch an oppor-
“ tunity of knowing their wants, he,
“ therefore, would allow them the liberty
“ of writing and printing, abolished by

“ him, in annihilating the old constitutions.” But, in the first paragraph, he most expressly, and under the most severe penalties, prohibits any thing whatsoever to be written or printed, which was in the least contrary to the religion of the country, to the order of succession to the crown, or to good customs and manners. Now, every thing committed to the press, but displeasing the king or his favourites, was regarded, and publicly explained, as contrary to religion, or good customs and manners. A king, who compelled a free people to tread religion, conscience and reason, under their feet, by forcing them to abjure their liberty, and to acknowledge slavery, seems, indeed, to have strange opinions of good customs and manners ; even so those, who are said from their childhood to have been regardless of religion, and to have spoiled their minds and bodies, by practising extravagancies, and still continuing, though secretly, and by means of bribes, to exert the utmost inhumanities,

ties, and concealed cruelties, they chose to borrow the beauty of religion, in order to cover the lewdness of villany. Secondly, it is prohibited for any person to write or print any thing contrary to the hereditary succession to the throne, according to the establishments of Westeros in the year 1544; at Stockholm, in the year 1743; and Norkopping, in 1604. And in order the better to secure the exercise of cruelty, and to terrify the miserable subjects still more, they are threatened, in this paragraph, with the most cruel punishments, in case they should venture to write or print any thing concerning the measures thus taken, for retaining their fellow-citizens in ignorance, and the utmost stupidity, in matters concerning their most interesting knowledge, or their utmost slavery. Further, in the third paragraph, the proceedings go so far, as to prohibit almost all kinds of printing, by ordering the most cruel punishments for all persons whatsoever, who should write
any

any thing concerning the king, his senate, or favourites ; though this prohibition endeavours to conceal them under other names, in order to cover the true intention of this granted liberty of the press. In short, in the first paragraph, the liberty of the press is allowed ; but, by exceptions, in the following paragraphs, the same press is not only prohibited, but cruel punishments are threatened, on those who would venture to use the press ; and none, indeed, have ventured to use it, since the king rose to his despotic state, except some few of his favourites, on purpose to put the inhabitants thoroughly in ignorance, and let them know nothing but falsehoods, or whatsoever may interest only a few tyrants. Those who have the most real virtue, honour, and solid knowledge, far from publishing something extraordinary, need all their talents to be able to conceal themselves ; for, as soon as discovered to be men of abilities and integrity, they are looked upon as being of
contrary

contrary opinions, and dangerous in the way of tyrants. *Unhappy that people, where vice corruption has got the better! but doubly unhappy, and almost lost is that nation, where corruption and crimes are become the principles of government!* It seems really, as if Providence, in punishing wicked nations, did nothing but only permit good men to be oppressed: the corrupted then get the better; and lo! the inhabitants as soon are undone.

The present senate, as being chosen by the king himself, and amongst his most intimate favourites, seemed to join with him in several of his views, with regard to further alterations in the new constitution, in order to make the king's power as unlimited by the constitution, as it yet is, either in fact, or in certain respects, though indirectly, by the constitution itself. In this view, likewise, the press seemed only to be used, by complaining merely about violence and injustice, without

without explaining, circumstantially, the involved reasons of it.

Never were violence and injustice practised in Sweden, more cruelly, or more openly, than they have been since the late revolution, and still continue to deprive the commons of all happiness; but the true reason of it seems to be contrary to what the senate are willing the people shall think about it. It is most commonly thought to be a consequence of each senator's being invested with one vote, in all the affairs of justice, and the king having only two votes, in case he will follow the general contents of the constitution, rather than use that unlimited power, which, merely by exceptions, he, in some other paragraphs of the same constitution, has reserved for himself; but the true reason of the open injustice now exercised, seems, conformably to the whole system of the late revolution, to be nothing but a new scheme concerted by the king

ing and the senate, in order to prepare the minds of the people for the next diet, by rendering them weary of the senators administration of justice, for being thus the more easily brought over to resign to the king a constitutional power, entirely unexceptionable and unlimited, even in the affairs concerning justice. At least, the effect produced by this kind of oppression, will, in the meanwhile, tend to prevail so much upon the citizens, as to make them easily comply, when once the king might, even in this circumstance, overthrow the constitution, by making use of his military force, thus beforehand prepared.

Others have thought, that the open violence exercised by the senate, would aim at an opposite revolution, by endeavouring to increase the number of malecontents. But this seems to be merely a fiction, and far from the truth. When we consider the king's present power,

power, sufficient to counterpoise, and even to destroy his senators, were they not his favourites. As, moreover, the courtiers, by making use of the press, used not to complain so much of injustice and violence, as not, much more, and chiefly, to show a deficiency in the king's power for being able to procure justice and protect the innocent. And it frequently happens, that the king retires from the senate, when particular causes are tried, and when the most shocking injustice is to be committed; which, as being practised during the absence of the king, cannot but throw a slur on the senators, and those paragraphs of the constitution, which allow them yet a small share in the judicatory power, or, at least, a plurality of suffrages, when eight of them are joined against the king, who gave only two votes. If, still further, complaints are addressed to the king: private audience is either refused to the subjects, or, if granted, nothing is gained but only

an opinion of the insufficiency of the king's power for doing justice. It would likewise be too great simplicity to believe, that a king, who, in a distressed situation, and limited state of government, did not want power to compel above 1700 representatives, and the whole kingdom, to abjure their liberty, and submit themselves to slavery, should want ability and force to reduce only twelve senators to a virtuous compliance with the laws and humanity, provided he himself should have strength enough to subdue his own passions, in aiming at still more power.

The king of Sweden, not being able to support a war out of the usual revenue, it seemed to him necessary, and quite unavoidable, to follow the examples of Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles X. and XI. in reducing into the possession of the crown, those lands, which, during the former government, had been granted to some private families. But, for being enabled,

enabled to prosecute this scheme, without opposition, either from the senators in the senate, or from the representatives in the diet, the greatest part of whom, being the present possessors of those lands: it behoved also to be his chief view, to make himself unlimited master of the whole constitutional power of the judicatory branch, in order to have no dependence on the votes of the senators, the majority of whom, he could not, in such cases, account for, however much they were his favourites; the case being, to deprive them, or their kinsmen, of their estates and property.

This scheme, Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles X. and XI. executed, by means of the military force at some of the diets; but the nobles, as representatives at that time, scarcely exceeding 150 in number, were easily subdued; as, on the contrary, or for the present, the greatest number of the military officers of the first rank, are likewise

likewise possessors of these lands. At present, also, it is not by open force, but by policy and intrigues, that this scheme is to be executed.

Some have thought the increased revenues of the king to be sufficient for the purpose of war, without being under the necessity of the reduction mentioned; since, not only the sale of brandy has lately been annexed to the crown, but likewise an important annual lottery, and an *assitant centoir* established for lending money on rents, considerably increases the revenues of the crown, and those of the court of Sweden. But the much increased luxury and expences of the present court, cause their daily wants to be much greater than in the times of the former kings; when, for instance, Gustavus Adolphus knew no darlings, and the ladies of the court are said to have, at that time, drunk Swedish strong ale, instead of burgundy or champagne wines. The wants

of the crown are, besides, within four years only, so far increased, by a lately erected new high court of justice, and the appointment of two governors more than before, at Finland, that this alone takes up all the new revenues of that crown, the support of the new erected court and governments requiring annually considerable sums of money.

It will be unavoidably necessary for the king of Sweden to increase the annual salary of all his civil officers, provided his intention may not be to rule them upon the same principles on which they have hitherto been governed, viz. by chains of a mean dependence on the mercy of those who were more opulent, and by oppressive impositions upon the public treasuries, or their fellow-citizens; which, in proportion as a case of emergency stained the virtue of a distressed officer, afforded the favourites of the court a convenient opportunity of rewarding the wretches

wretches whom they liked, and of punishing others whom they disliked; and thus the number of licentious adherents being increased by distress, they, at the same time, were governed by oppressions.

The Swedish army, consisting of 40,000 men constantly in readiness, are much on the same footing as in the time of Gustavus Adolphus; so that each proprietor of lands, or in other respects more proprietors jointly, furnish and support a soldier, or a horse and a man of the cavalry. Notwithstanding this support, a soldier receives some part of his pay monthly from the crown, and, when in service, either in time of war or peace, a double salary is paid him. And, besides lands assigned to the officers as long as they are in service, they enjoy certain sums of money annually from the crown: it also seems, that the wants of the Swedes during about 150 years, have more increased, together with their necessities and their

luxury, than they have been supplied by the cultivating of arts, or by any flourishing state of commerce during that space of time.

Besides these 40,000 men, supported by the inhabitants, and by the crown, an equal number of recruits are constantly kept in readiness, nourished and clothed by the inhabitants, in the same manner as the former, during their being used by the crown. The standing army, making up altogether 80,000 men, cannot but load the citizens with burdens, far exceeding their resources, especially in some of the northern parts of Sweden, where the barrenness of the country, not without hard labour, and the utmost slavery, scarcely affords the inhabitants their necessaries. This misery is still further increased by 30,000 unexercised young men, furnished by the inhabitants, for supplying the number of those 80,000 above-mentioned, in case of death, or their
being

being accidentally rendered unfit for further service.

The merchants and tradesmen of each Swedish town, are obliged to provide themselves with uniforms, and other military stores necessary for the cavalry, as well as the infantry, and to meet every summer season, to perform all usual military exercises, on account of their making up a certain number of regiments to be in readiness for the defence of each town in the time of war. It seems, however, that the extravagant expences annually incurred by them, as preparatives to each meeting, would, in time of peace, far exceed that small advantage which is expected from them in the time of war. The usual expences, joined to the loss of the most valuable time, which cannot be employed by a trader in carrying on two different businesses at the same time, cause the greatest part of the merchants the more to complain about this custom, as

many of them have been brought to poverty, if not thoroughly ruined by it. The before-mentioned reduction of lands also seems to be the more unavoidable by the present king of Sweden, as the former kings, since the reign of Gustavus I. could not avoid such reduction, however dangerous the attempt of it always might have been considered.

Sweden being advantageously situated for traffic, and its commerce calculated, to have, in the space, of about one century, been as much extended, as its finances have been improved; that kingdom might, in consequence, be considered as in a state capable of supplying all its wants, easier than during the reigns of the former kings. But this calculation can be asserted by no real arguments, as long as the commerce of Sweden is carried on upon its present footing, and the Swedish finances are employed in the usual manner; but particularly on account

count of the luxury of the inhabitants, the support of which requires much more than the barrenness of the northern countries, notwithstanding all political establishments, can afford them. If, however, Stockholm could be changed into the city of Paris, and, together with the French customs, manners, and fashions, so eagerly imitated by the Swedes, the French climate, and the fertility of the French provinces could be transported to Sweden, by those Swedish gentlemen who frequently visit Paris, and there receive their education: I cannot doubt, but that, in such a case, the Swedish commerce alone would provide them with all their necessaries in abundance. But since, on the contrary, French blood was poured into Swedish veins, the body was entirely corrupted and weakened, and the internal sense was by people of rank thoroughly lost; so that nothing is pleasing but what is stiled French; and nothing

more despised by them, than both the assiduity in cultivating, and the fondness to enjoy, their own country productions; a taste so much rejected by their glorious ancestors. Whence the balance of trade, cannot but be against Sweden, and its traffic prove insufficient to afford either the crown or the country their indispensable necessities; which will appear from the following short detail of the present state of commerce in that kingdom.

The East India company, established at Gottenburg, on account of the advantageous situation of that place for commerce, carries on the only foreign traffic which affords any real advantage to Sweden. But with regard to the commercial laws, respecting this trade, the gain of this company, and that of the crown, is much less than what the country loses by all kind of luxury inseparable from this traffic. The East India commodities, consisting chiefly of those
articles

articles which serve to support luxury, are bought, not in exchange for Swedish productions, but for that silver which by the Swedes is smuggled, and brought from Cadiz in Spain. The expence incurred at this last mentioned place, hath exceeded the gain on the exportation of their own country productions; which will appear more evidently, from the effects produced by the quality of the Swedish coin, to be mentioned in the following pages.

When the ships return from the East Indies, the commodities brought from that part of the world, are, according to the laws, sold by auction at Gottenburg, and only a few articles allowed to be used within the country. It happened, however, that not only china, tea, and coffee, but several other species of those commodities are consumed at home, in greater quantity than transported to foreign countries; consequently, the gain of this so famous trade, however it enriches some few merchants

merchants at Gottenburg, is, nevertheless, in reality, no gain to the nation in general, but, on the contrary, a very great loss; which appears, when the luxury, which only is supported by this trade, is compared with the former Swedish simplicity, when the East India traffic was totally unknown to them.

What the crown is thought to gain by the duty payable on East India commodities, is only imaginary, but no real profit; for the vast annual salaries squandered by the crown upon a prodigious number of useless and insolent customhouse-officers, equals the amount of the whole revenue of the crown; not to mention what is concealed by clandestine practices, or lost by smuggling.

The traffic at the Levant was, for some years ago, carried on in Sweden, in order to provide those who manufactured silk stuffs within the kingdom, with materials proper for that purpose. Silk-

worms,

worms, likewise, were for some time introduced and nourished in the southern countries of Sweden. But besides that bears and wolves, which are abundantly propagated in the northern countries, seem to be of real use in the Swedish climate; since clothes of skin, prepared from these beasts, are indispensibly necessary during nine months of the year: the silk-worms, notwithstanding their apparent usefulness to the ladies dress, seem to spoil the temperament of the inhabitants, or to be the cause of a weak state of health, which the ladies cannot fail to contract, by exposing themselves to the violence of the climate, after having been delicately brought up in their youth; and the same weakness of constitution is most commonly derived from them to their offspring and posterity. As for the Levant trade, it is also too evident, that there was no national gain by it. This commerce is entirely ruined for the present; since,

since, in 1766, the remainder of the silk and stuff manufactories were destroyed.

The commerce carried on at Stockholm has, in two respects, been famous for some centuries, *viz.* with regard to a vast exportation of iron amassed in the southern countries of Sweden ; and, secondly, by a no less considerable traffic with tar, pitch, and woods gathered at Stockholm from the northern countries and towns, where the traders were almost vassals of the merchants at Stockholm, till the year 1766, when several of the northern merchants, particularly those of Finland, obtained leave to trade to foreign countries for themselves. It being not allowed them, before that time, to trade with foreigners, Stockholm was almost the only place of traffic known to them, whither they were accustomed to transport all their country productions. But, in proportion as Stockholm, in those times, became the *monopolium* of Swedish commerce, and grew the capital of luxu-

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y, the rest of the trading towns groaned under slavish dependence; and the whole body of traders, those of Stockholm excepted, languished under restrictions and poverty, like a sick body, of which all the veins being emptied, the heart only is crowded with blood, and swelled with corruption. The vast trade, brought to its height at Stockholm, was also scarcely sufficient to support the luxury, formerly quite unknown in Sweden, until the instruments of it were invented. The only necessary commodity which entered the country, was salt; it being annually wanted, in great quantity, in Sweden, and obtained no where else than from Spain or Portugal. It was this single commodity only, next to tobacco, which, in regard to the indispensable want of it in Sweden, allowed the other towns to reap some benefit from the advantages of Stockholm; but for the rest, they took part merely in its luxury and corruption, which grew the

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the more universal at Stockholm, and all over the kingdom, since kings, born and bred in Germany, began to reign in Sweden, and to give those who eagerly imitated them, the examples of a court, which, in Sweden, however built on rocks, and encompassed with frosty hills, now was supported in all the same sumptuous splendor and abundance, as those courts of Germany, surrounded with fields adorned, both winter and summer, either with flowers or with grapes.

The traffic of Finland is, indeed, founded upon principles, in some respect advantageous to Sweden, since the Finnish commerce was once delivered from its former dependence on Stockholm. For two reasons, however, the commerce of Finland hath, since its establishment, contributed to the ruin of the merchants, instead of enriching the country: the traders, and the sailors too, are totally in want of education; there being no establishments

made, nor any opportunity opened, for acquiring a knowledge of commerce, or of navigation, but merely by practice; which has been the cause of their acquiring, in some few years, a small experience of them both, though no cheaper than by the loss of their ships, and of the rest of their property.

A school of commerce was, a few years ago, established at Stockholm, by the late king; but clergymen being appointed managers of this school, who knew little of true divinity, and nothing of commerce, this school hitherto hath served only to keep up the mere name of it, without forwarding the use commonly intended by such establishments.

If ever the imprudences of others may be instructive lessons to those who live in a sphere easily susceptible of the same miscarriage: the awkward manner in which the Finnish towns have begun, and even pursued the cultivation of foreign

trade, since the year 1766, deserves here to be particularly described; which at the same time will show, how even those measures, taken by the favourites since the late revolution in order to forward the traffic, have been far from being the most prudent which might have been chosen, in order to improve the Swedish trade; since trading towns have by them been exposed to destruction, and even those, which yet remained in Finland after the most flourishing about two years ago were laid in ashes, have been ruined, the traders exposed to considerable losses, and threatened with destruction.

In the year 1764, the favourites ordered two general custom-houses to be erected on the Finnish seacoasts; one for the southern, and the other for the northern extremity of this extensive shore; in order to prevent smuggling, and facilitate the survey of the custom-house officers, and at the same time diminish the prodigious
number

number of these officers, by uniting all the Finnish trading towns under only two general places, in which they all might be examined, and the duty paid. The southern place was appointed at a small island near to the city of Abo, the capital of Finland; to which place all the southern towns, as Louisa, Borgo, Helsingfors, Ek-nas, Abo, Nodendal, Nyttad, Raumea, and Biörneburg, were ordered to land with their ships. To complete the folly, men, who never had been sailors, were appointed to find out, to this island, new passages, which never before had been used, for vessels bound to or from the above-mentioned towns; in order to make all vessels pass no where else but by that island where the general custom-house was built. Those who sailed with small and open vessels, as is most usual in Finland, provided with very simple tackle, were exposed to the ocean, which always had been unnavigable by such vessels, as being accustomed

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to keep the shore. The traders also esteemed these orders issued by the king, as nothing better than a command to be drowned with the crew and cargo. Those again who used large vessels, could not, in pursuance of the king's orders, arrive at the ocean, until they had passed over rocks, shelves, and such like places, as were navigable only by the smallest vessels. An universal lamentation also took place in all the southern towns; others who saw the orders to be as impracticable as ridiculous, resolved, to persuade their fellow-traders to join with them in sending deputies from these trading towns to Stockholm, in order to undeceive the king, and solicit a repeal of that commercial law; which, however, was not obtained, but only for a short time, and till other measures could be invented for effecting a compliance with the orders before issued. It is reported, that an enormous duty had been fixed to be paid by
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those vessels which would retain their old passage, rather than attempt the new one; and the payment of that kind of duty seems indeed to be as inseparable from the merchants, as, in the other case, a more considerable loss might be no less unavoidable to the sailors. Abo, the capital, was the following year destroyed by fire, as it is suspected, either by those who were against the new government, or by rulers of the opposite party, who countenanced the new government, and, apprehending the universal discontent of the inhabitants, would, by fire and distress, deprive them of means to revolt.

The northern towns, as Christina, Wassa, Nycarleby, Jacobstadt, Gamelcarleby, Uhleaborg, and Tarnea, were ordered, for the before-mentioned purpose, to apply at a small isle called Kaskoe, situated opposite to the city Wassa, in the gulf of Bothnia. On that account, these towns were ordered jointly to build several houses

on the last mentioned isle, at their common expence, to be used by the custom-house officers. In failure of these buildings being in readiness within eleven months, all the towns herein concerned should forfeit their right of further carrying on any foreign trade, which, in 1766, had been granted to the Finnish towns, in spite of the traders of Stockholm. This ordinance, in many respects so indiscreet, could not but strike the merchants of all the northern towns with the utmost awe, resentment, and consternation. Briberies had been practised, and vast sums squandered by the Finnish traders at several of the preceding diets, for obtaining the liberty of carrying on foreign trade; which liberty, now called in question by the king, on terms almost impossible to be executed by the traders, could not but be looked upon as measures prompted by enemies of the country, with a design to ruin the traders of Finland.

At

At the same time, as this liberty of carrying on foreign trade had been granted to the towns of Finland, all the peasants of that country, situated near the sea coast, had obtained liberty of navigation within the kingdom, and to construct vessels, and employ them in their own trade, to any town situated within the Swedish boundaries; provided they transported no other commodities than what were either the production of their own lands, or were necessarily wanted by them, and supplied from the towns, such as salt, &c. This liberty granted to the peasants, must also have been followed by an unaveidable ruin of the towns of Finland, if deprived of their liberty to trade abroad; thus the towns might, in short, have been changed into country villages, without lands, and without commodities to be exported by them, since the peasants themselves, now, all over the country, exported their own pitch,

tar, and wood to Stockholm, and brought none of those commodities to the nearer market towns in Finland, unless they were paid at the price common in Stockholm; which was unusual and inconsistent with the trade of Finland. In such a situation of the Finnish commerce, no circumstance could appear to those towns more dreadful, than the present entreaties to deprive them of the liberty to trade abroad, or, in other words, the king's issued ordinance, by which he commanded them all, by forfeiture of their rights of carrying on foreign trade abroad, to direct their vessels to one common place of rendezvous, distant from their own harbours, in order to be there visited, and to pay the duty. Much more time being required, and unequal greater expences being as unavoidable, if the sailors had been obliged to undergo the same troubles, first in their own harbour, and afterwards at the general custom-house, where

where their vessels were to be discharged, and their cargo a second time examined : it also exposed the traders to insupportable inconveniencies, attended with certain losses, without the smallest profit.

On account of the private conduct of the traders of these northern towns, the commerce of that country hath been no less disastrous ; though their misfortunes may be as much attributed to the neglect of the rulers, or want of public establishments, conducive to the purpose aimed at. For, as soon as they had obtained the liberty of trading abroad, they exposed to the waves and to the wind, all their property at once, without so much as insuring either the vessels or their cargo. Sailors without education and sufficient experience in navigation, joined to the ignorance of the traders, completed the whole of their misfortunes. Many vessels of the largest size that each town could afford, being put to sea the first

year, and those particularly, which belonged to Uhleaborg, which is one of the first trading towns in the north, being all lost together; the merchants of that town were undone; and there remained nothing but houses void of resources, and filled with complaining wretches.

Either to put an end to their misery, or to prevent the effects of approaching despair, this town was, the following year 1764, twice in one summer burned, together with the common warehouse built at the harbour, where their vessels used to be loaded; so that the fire still continued to persecute those whom, as it seemed, the water could no more reach.

Good kings are, indeed, the dearest pledge of happiness that heaven can grant a people; as, on the contrary, there is no evil which a wicked one is not capable of forwarding, and which would remain either unknown or impracticable among the rest of men; for the prince being
commonly

commonly possessed of opulence, or situated advantageously for obtaining a number of friends capable even of mischiefs, apt to flatter the misled passions of a prince, which might be such, as to be gratified by nothing more, than in reducing his subjects to a condition the most unhappy in societies: is there any evil greater in the course of human life?

In the year 1775, an essay was likewise made, in order to extend the foreign traffic in Sweden, as well as to persuade those Swedes to return from abroad, who, tired with domestic oppressions, had left their native country, and found their safety in foreign countries. With such views, the king granted Marstrand, a Swedish trading town, situated on the coast of the north sea, the privileges of a free city. Debtors and malefactors were assured of impunity, as soon as they were within the gates of this city, or rather within this asylum for villany. The consequence,

sequence, far from answering the king's expectation, was only this, that numberless inhabitants of wealth and integrity, were, in the other countries of Sweden, offended and deceived by ruffians, who, immediately after they had committed mischiefs, took refuge in this royal asylum. A great many distressed soldiers likewise deserted their regiments, and, on their way to Marstrand, committed several violences in towns and country villages. But those Swedes, who, for just reasons, had once left their native country, as chiefly pitched upon by this establishment, they, after having found bread and protection abroad, and thus being satisfied, did with so much greater horror look on all those establishments of their native country, which, contrary to their undeniable right, had refused them those very advantages, which they now, merely as strangers, could enjoy undisturbed and happy even abroad. None of
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them returned from abroad, but, on the contrary, many of those who abhorred despotism and perjury, universally introduced into Sweden, exemplified by royal authority, and by force obtruded on the subjects too, made use of an opportunity which they long had wished for; and, under pretence of going to Marstrand, situated on the frontiers of Sweden, pursued their journey further, and for ever left their native country; seeing, that by the late alteration of the constitutions, no other changes had happened in their native country, than that of oppressors and injurers, who formerly were stiled senators and nobles, but now, in reality, were the king and his most dependent senators.

Notwithstanding *porto-franco*, the only advantage granted by the king to Marstrand, the commerce of this city was little improved; nor were any Jews, or other foreigners, prevailed upon, as was intended,

intended, to take their seats in a city so awkwardly provided against the villany of those wretches who had retired from the Swedish provinces, in order to fix their habitation at that place. The first founders of ancient Rome, after having prevailed upon a number of adventurers, from several corners of the known world at that time, to leave those places which had given them birth, in order to fix their habitation at Rome; those ancient politicians foresaw the necessity of enacting laws suitable for securing their new-founded city against the corruption of the new inhabitants, who knew no other practice than that of vice; and thus they wisely prevented the disorders of some few corrupted citizens, rather than propagated the ruin of the whole city. The king of Sweden, on the contrary, by erecting an asylum in a kingdom filled with subjects in the utmost distress, without enacting, at the same time, commercial

cial and economical laws adapted to that purpose: the moral, as well as the politic state of his new asylum, could not produce other effects, than the promoting of crimes and desolation in the rest of the Swedish provinces, without forwarding the intended use of a free city. This city, formerly, was the place appointed for the correction of those malefactors who had been condemned to confinement, or public works, either for a certain number of years, or during life. The greatest part of the prisoners having recovered their liberty by the new establishment mentioned, were no sooner on free foot, than they left this town, in order to establish their habitation any where else, than in a place which indeed set them at liberty, but allowed them nothing else, excepting the utmost poverty and licentiousness.

Money matters have alone been sufficient to ruin the foreign commerce of Sweden, though no disorders besides had concurred

concurrent to hasten the misfortunes of the traders. In the space of sixty years, only bank-notes, have circulated, as the general measure in all kinds of trade with valuable commodities; and the real value, either in gold, silver, or copper, answerable to those representative bills, having been wanted: this fictitious coin made of paper, could not but lose its value and credit; and consequently the bulk of these imaginary riches increased in the same proportion as the real value was exported, and nothing but luxury returned. Private bankers too, found an opportunity of enriching themselves during these disorders, only by changing money, or, more properly, by buying and purchasing money at certain times, and in peculiar cases, according to the variable value of the representative bills; of which the relative value used to be fixed almost every month, or sometimes each week. And as this valuation was one time carried too high,

high, and another time sunk too low, those who, in the former case, sold their money, which they had purchased in the latter, gained enormous sums. But, to complete the traffic of that kind, the Jews of Amsterdam, after having got notice of these disorders prevailing in the Swedish finance, were, in certain times and circumstances, capable, in the course only of two months, of purchasing the whole money stock of Sweden; which, when in the following months the value had been fixed too high in Sweden, those Jews resold, at a very dear rate, to the Swedes, either by forcing the merchants to release their bills of exchange, or by purchasing and paying the Swedish commodities at this very time when the money had the highest value; and they, of consequence, could, for a smaller sum of money, which was in its nature fictitious, obtain a larger quantity of commodities of real value. But as it most commonly was
Swedish

Swedish gold and silver coin, rather than bank-notes, which foreigners would buy in such cases; seldom also any of that kind of coin remained in Sweden above a few days after the gold or silver had been coined. The Russian merchants or peasants, who used to smuggle in the northern Swedish countries, found means to purchase the Swedish silver vessels, of which the inhabitants, according to the old customs, have plenty in that part of Sweden; but seeing that so considerable sums were offered them for such vessels, they were ready to part with them, without perceiving, before too late, that they had a real loss, and their gain was only imaginary. This very trade, which in Finland was practised with some Russians, was, on the eastern side, imitated by the Swedish Laplanders, who, in the same manner, used to trade with the Danes or Norwegians; so that, on all sides of the kingdom, doors were opened for torrents

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of Swedish gold and silver, which run out from that kingdom in exchange for paper; and there remaining no more of that metal, the inhabitants began to dispose of the old copper money, consisting of large and heavy plates, in the same manner, as before the nobler coin had been employed. It follows, that the real productions of this country, usually circulating in the European traffic, must supply what cannot be equally adjusted with a money of unfixed value and fictitious nature; whence no real gain can accrue to the Swedish commerce, but, on the contrary, a considerable loss, arising chiefly from the irregularity of the Swedish money stock.

The same inconveniencies that Sweden at present suffers from the bank-notes, were formerly experienced in that kingdom by another sort of coin. During the reign of Charles XII. that monarch had stained almost all the corners of Europe

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with blood, by means of a war which he carried on for above twenty years: He also could not avoid the devastation of his own country, and an universal want of money. In this emergency, his prime-minister, the famous Baron Gersén, who was beheaded at Stockholm, immediately after his master's death, advised the king to coin copper money, of a small intrinsic value, but, on the other hand, of as high a fixed value, as should make the copper, which they could afford at that time, answer all the necessities both of the king and his subjects. Accordingly, a kind of copper money was coined in Sweden, called in the country language, *myntecken*. The size and intrinsic value of each of these was less than an English halfpenny; but the fixed value exactly the same as that of an English shilling. The consequence of this proceeding was no better than what is usual in such cases, when the internal and external value of a coin are disproportionate

portionate to each other: The neighbouring traders are said to have sent ships loaded with this sort of money to Sweden; and thus bought the Swedish country product as much cheaper, as the proportion of one halfpenny, which was the internal value, is unequal to twenty-four halfpence, the fixed value of this money. This circumstance alone might have been sufficient for the present, to teach the Swedes not to be twice guilty of the same imprudence; but alas, is there any thing which can instruct a nation once abandoned to corruption, hastening its own ruin, and glorying in its unhappiness!

It remains, to give a hint of the present internal trade, and the private œconomy of Sweden. The internal trade of a country being nothing but a mutual exchange of commodities among the inhabitants of the same country, this kind of trade can therefore not properly be considered as a real gain to that nation, however flourish-

ing the state of such a trade may be ; for, there may be abundance of country productions circulating among those traders, and there may likewise be found rich traders ; but the commodities being only transported from one province to another, and altogether consumed within the whole of that country, and the traders being enriched at the expence of other fellow-traders of that very country ; it follows, that the gain cannot be national, but only private. As, moreover, if foreign country productions are circulating in this very internal traffic, which happens frequently in Sweden, and is practised by them with too much extravagancy, there must also be a real national loss, resulting even from their internal trade ; which will more evidently appear from the following account of the internal trade carried on at present in Sweden, and supported by its present government.

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The Swedish dominions are divided into six general parts, *viz.* Sweden by itself, which comprehends the provinces situated in the middle of the kingdom, of which Stockholm is nearly the centre. The southern part of Sweden is stiled the kingdom of the Goths, (in Swedish, *Gotha-Riket*); the northern part is called Norland; then Lapland, Finland, and the German territories, by which are understood a part of Pomerania belonging to Sweden. In each of these divisions, and most commonly only in each province, the private œconomy, commerce, manners, customs, and even the language of the inhabitants, entirely differ from one another. We shall also take a short view of each of these circumstances, by giving here some account of their internal trade. But as the Finnish nation, as well as the Laplanders, differ far from the rest of the Swedes, by quite different language and manners of living; and these two nations

seem to be almost unknown to the Swedes themselves, on account of their ignorance of the Finnish and Laponesse languages, which have not the least resemblance to the Swedish; and which likewise prevents any intimate and universal conversation between those nations: this part of the present account, therefore, may entertain the reader with as much novelty, perhaps, as some other topics contained in this volume.

The insolence of the Swedish aristocracy, if not being the same as before the revolution, is, however, for the present, much worse than it ever was before; in so far as the king's favourites now use more freely to exert secret cruelty and oppressions, since no body ventures to complain, or, by complaining, can but only engross his unhappiness: we will therefore, in the following pages, by further mentioning the unhappy state of the present government, consider the misery of
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the families in their private life; which is nothing but a consequence of the faults of the government itself, and, in certain respects, remaining effects of the former absolute monarchy in Sweden, during the reign of Charles XI. and his successor Charles XII. The enjoyment of liberty, during the late government, perversely maintained by a corrupted aristocracy, and troubled by a court who bribed only for the recovery of the former monarchy; a liberty thus harassed on all sides, and encroached upon, now by the king, then by the nobles, could afford the rest of the inhabitants but little advantage in the space only of sixty years, during which time they enjoyed it. All the former inconveniencies and disorders, as effects of the former despotism, still remained; which the short and scanty enjoyment of liberty did not allow to be abolished. The introduction of the present monarchy, could therefore produce no other

change, than an union of the former and the present calamities, in all that extent, as is susceptible in a body spoiled from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot; such also is to be the following delineation of the present happiness of the inhabitants, even in respect to their trade and private life.

As Stockholm is the capital of the kingdom, it is not only the metropolis of the Swedish trade, but likewise of its miscarriage, and the rest of the disorders which prevail in that kingdom. All the trade carried on in the provinces, tends to support Stockholm; and the country towns, in return, are supported in their trade by all kinds of commodities received from Stockholm, which is almost the only place where some arts are cultivated, and manufactures have been established. The living of the inhabitants of Stockholm depends entirely upon the transportation of that country production which is brought to them

them by sea, chiefly from Finland, and then from Norland and the southern Swedish countries. Commodities which the remoter country towns use to return from Stockholm, are, besides cloths and stuffs, salt, tobacco, and several sorts of tools and manufactory wares; an abundance of wine, sugar, tea, coffee, and other implements of luxury entirely inconsistent with the climate, the temperament, and living of the northern inhabitants.

Since the peasants obtained, a few years ago, the liberty of fitting out ships, and transporting their commodities themselves, a greater number of sailors appear, every summer, in the harbour of Stockholm; with no greater advantage, however, to the whole kingdom, than an irreparable neglect of the tillage of the ground, since those workmen became sailors and merchants. Another damage, no less shocking, and likewise arising from the navigation of the peasants, is, a
luxurious

luxurious consumption of those foreign liquors, which, for an hundred years, were quite unknown in the northern countries of Sweden ; so that a peasant of these northern parts, instead of imitating the customs of his ancestors, by regaling his family and his friends with liquors of his own country production, seldom returns from Stockholm, without being provided with wine, sugar, and coffee, in such a quantity, as is sufficient, during eight months, or through the whole winter, to supply the private luxury of his family, or friends ; till he reach Stockholm the next summer, and can be again supplied with these superfluities.

A luxury no less hurtful to their domestic manners, appears in their fashion of clothing themselves ; so that the private gain of the peasants traffic with Stockholm, is calculated small, when compared with the common loss of time, and the propagation of corrupted domestic manners

manners and customs, not agreeing with the climate or the soil of the country.

A stupid devotion of the remoter country people towards the inhabitants of Stockholm, exposed them to be imposed upon by the latter, as much in their trade, as in the imitation of their degenerated customs. Distinctions of honours, and degrees of rank, having, since the reign of Charles XI. been introduced into Sweden more than ever, in imitation of the fashions of some other despotic states: each person of higher rank, and chiefly those who served the king, by a warrant subscribed by his Majesty himself, were obliged, on every occasion, to observe their degree of honour, in so far, as to be punishable, in case any one neglected his rank, or took a place below the degree of dignity calculated for his office. This created the pride of the higher classes, and generated, in the same proportion, a slavish submission, and a brutish stupidity of

of the common people ; so that, in a few years, the relative opinion, that the fellow-citizens had of one another, and chiefly those of the lower sort towards their superiors, was the same, that spectres use to effect upon the minds of children, when presented to them, as something dreadful or amazing. Still, in the later times, and during the period of the late liberty, this superstition, however much turned into ridicule, was, nevertheless, so far prevalent upon the minds of the inhabitants of those provinces remotest from Stockholm, that, when an officer of the higher ranks appeared among them, they looked upon him, either as a deity, or a demon sent to them from another planet. Had he any proposals to make to them, either by the king's orders, or on account of his office, they either received them with the same stupidity, or opposed them with uncommon fury ; reason being silent in both the cases.

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When a people, inspired with such sentiments, approached the capital, in order to trade with its inhabitants, whose language the northern Swedes often used to be unacquainted with, it most commonly happened, that a mere appearance only of those who were thought more polished, or higher by rank, was sufficient to cause the simplicity of the provincials submit to any terms whatever, and to expose them to numberless impositions; till, at last, either awakened by their losses, or undeceived by time, and a more frequent intercourse, which the mutual trade served to afford them, they, at the latter end of the former government, began to perceive their own simplicity, and to aspire to a freedom more compatible with the principles of humanity, and true politeness; which, however, since the late revolution, seems to vanish; and the principles of despotism, even in this respect, will resume their former superiority, so much inseparable

inseparable from the nature of unlimited power; particularly in Sweden, where neither the soil, climate, nor the customs, or religion of the inhabitants, are suitable to any kind of despotic rules, either by the constitution, or, in fact, without exposing the nation to that stupid simplicity, which is not, nor ever can be consistent with the purpose or the intention of civil societies. Each society, on account of its resemblance to a man, use often to be represented as a moral person: If, for instance, a physical person, I mean a single man, endowed with all his senses, were deprived only of two of them, *viz.* of the sense of hearing, and of that of sight; such an one undoubtedly should be allowed to be the most miserable of men; the more so, were he to support his life, and that of his family, himself, and none else. Ignorance and stupidity, quite inseparable from the nature of a despotic society, is, in that moral person, all the same,

same, as to want both eyes and ears. Despots are continually under an indispensable necessity of executing measures, which, if known to their inferiors, should expose the despot, either to their derision or resentment; and, in short, to the loss of his uncontrollable power: but, to avoid this adventure, the despot chooses to conceal his maxims; and this being totally impossible, but among inferiors immersed in the most stupid ignorance, hence it happens, that few sciences are cultivated or suffered in despotic states; and that knowledge, which most interests human societies, and tends to procure them happiness, in rendering the individuals of them easy and sociable, rather than stupid and slavish, is not only neglected, but likewise banished as dangerous; since nothing but fear, are the principles of a despotic government. The most northern inhabitants of Sweden, being, on account of the rudeness of their climate, thought less

less fit for knowledge than the southern nations, a civil slavery, arising from encroachment either upon their mutual interest or honour, would easily throw them into a state capable to resemble a flock of brutes, rather than a society of men.

I may obviate an objection from those who pretend that the Swedes are the most free people, on account of their liberty to send representatives to assist at each diet, in order to manage matters interesting to their private trade, or else concerning the common welfare. This may, in some respect, be affirmed; however Sweden, like a patient who knows little or nothing about his own diseases, is unable to find out remedies applicable either for the removing of its disorders, or for the recovery of a better constitution. The representatives of Sweden are prepared to ignorance before they are convoked; and, when assembled, the same ignorance is propagated, and nothing told or shewed them, but
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what serves either to captivate their minds, or to forward the schemes invented by those, whose pretended industry they often are deceived by, without even perceiving them to be the rulers of their simplicity. But, what is still more oppressive, the constitution, which in one paragraph indulges the representatives with a share in the government, recalls, by subtle exceptions in the other paragraphs, that very liberty; and exposes the representatives to fear and danger, in case they would make use of their right.

The southern provinces, as Pomerania, and particularly Schone, provide Stockholm annually with plenty of corn; which some of the northern provinces use to purchase at Stockholm, and transport it by sea to the northern towns or country villages. Norland and Lapland, being barren countries, and every year wanting corn within themselves, they are chiefly supplied from the southern provinces, by

Stockholm; and, in return, they bring to Stockholm, wood, tar, pitch, and skins of deer and other beasts; in exchange for which, they use to return the corn, besides a considerable quantity of wine, sugar, coffee, tea, and different kinds of spices. As the Gothic provinces are known by a considerable fishing trade they carry on with their herring, which are caught in great quantities by the inhabitants of Schone, Halland, and Bahuslan, and partly sent abroad in vessels from Gottenburgh, partly to the northern parts of Sweden; so, the northern provinces, as Wasterbotten, Helsingeland, and a province situated within Sweden by itself, called Roslogen, are all known by their cultivating a fishery in the Bothnic Bay; where a great quantity of a kind of small herring are caught by them, called in the country language, *stromming*; which they sell at Stockholm, and the northern parts of Sweden, in order to supply, by this trade, their
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want of corn, arising from the barrenness of their grounds. The trade of fishing not being universally allowed to be professed by the inhabitants, but, on the contrary, being resigned to certain people, and only to a certain number of the inhabitants of the towns, such restraints have prevented it from being carried so far as to afford the nation any gain; besides that this sort of fish is chosen by the inhabitants of the northern countries, only through necessity, and for want of better; and the more southern countries, being more largely provided for by nature, and by a softer climate, they have too delicate a taste for being pleased, except in cases of the utmost necessity, with those entertainments of the northern inhabitants.

Finland, situated on the frontiers of Russia, and being distant from Sweden, no less by its own language, customs, and manners, than by its situation, it is no wonder that the less care has been taken,

either in polishing the manners, or promoting the interest of the inhabitants of this fertile and vast country. The Swedish kings have, from the remotest times, been always accustomed, as soon as they had mounted the throne, and been crowned, to take a journey all over the kingdom. This journey, in the old country language, is called *riksgato*, which signifies, to pass the street of the kingdom. By this passage only, or when bloody wars have been carried on by the kings of Sweden against Russia, the Finnish nation have had the happiness to see their kings; but, as the short stay of the monarch, by such an opportunity, has allowed the inhabitants nothing more, than only to see their kings, or follow them into bloody battles: these occurrences have served to no greater purposes, than only to give occasion, either to some void exclamations of joy, or lamentations concerning ravage and bloodshed. The real interest and advantage of this
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nation has, at all times, and upon all occasions, been neglected; and the inhabitants themselves left exposed to those violences and oppressions of their superiors, which use to be so common in the remoter provinces of corrupted states, and extensive dominions.

In the month of June 1775, the present king of Sweden took his journey to the southern part of Finland, accompanied by two of his senators, his excellency Ulric Scheffer, the prime minister, chancery president, and chancellor of the university of Finland or Abo; and the senator Liewen. During the king's residence, for only eight days, at Abo, there were a surprising number of writings delivered to him, containing complaints from all corners of that country; the common people having, since the revolution, been oppressed by the nobles, and disturbed in managing their trade; the oeconomic laws had been ab-

used, and numberless possessors chased from their grounds and properties, lawfully acquired by them, and possessed by themselves and their ancestors, for hundreds of years; and cruelties were carried so far, that some of them had been imprisoned, and publicly whipped with rods, merely for having endeavoured to recover their properties, by complaints preferred in the usual manner, at the court of justice. Advocates and lawyers who had been employed to plead the causes of those wretched clients, having likewise been committed to prison, they now sued for justice from the king, no less for their own sake, than that of their clients; but the king, fearing perhaps to lose the attachment of his favourites, a few unworthy noblemen who were the very oppressors complained of, in case he had done justice to the complaining parties: not only made no alteration in these matters, but, on the contrary, approved
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of the imprisonment of the pleaders and writers, no less than of their clients; and is said to have expressed himself to his favourites in a manner, capable to flatter their wickedness, and at the same time cover his own cruelty, when he told them, that however seldom he aggravates a punishment, but will rather alleviate it, he nevertheless would, in respect to those unfortunate commons, act contrary to his inclination. To the rest of the clients, and numberless others who had brought their complaints before the king, justice was promised. Accordingly, prodigious numbers of the inhabitants of Finland went over next year to Stockholm, in order to receive the acts of the king, or the promised justice, since they had waited in their houses the whole year, without receiving the fulfilment of this promise; but their approaching Stockholm served only to increase their losses, by charging them with considerable ex-

pences, and loss of time, which otherwise they would have employed in providing for their houses and families. As for their causes, it was answered to the most part of them, that no change could be obtained in what had been done in the provinces; and others were remitted to the lower country trials, which was almost the same as to lose his cause for ever; or at least to be obliged to purchase justice still dearer than was the weight of the injury and violence which they had sustained. In this situation of the Finnish affairs, it has not been attempted to forward the trade, but, on the contrary, to ruin the arts, to destroy all commerce for ever, and to bring the inhabitants to the utmost distress.

Swedish Finland, which runs from south to north, or from Helsingfors to Tornea, about 660 English miles in length, and in breadth is extended from the bay of Bothnia to the Russian frontiers

tiers about 180 English miles, is very thinly inhabited; so that scarcely a million and a half of people are reckoned in this extensive country. The soil is very fertile, except some places in Carely, which is situated at the north-eastern part of Sweden, on the Russian boundaries; the half of it belongs to Russia, conformably to the treaty of peace concluded at Abo in the year 1721. The southern part of Finland, as Tavastland and Savolax, is productive of abundance of corn, rye, barley, oats, wheat, beans, hemp, and flax; so that Stockholm, and almost the whole kingdom, is annually provided with one or other of these necessaries from Sweden; besides cattle, victuals, and provision of all kinds, which this country produces, and supplies the wants of the towns, or other Swedish provinces. Tar and pitch are chiefly Finnish commodities, and are made by them in great quantities. The indefatigable industry,
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and almost incredible endurance of hardships and labours, make these people abound with every thing which their soil or their labours can produce; and the inhabitants, in general, being themselves contented with very little, and accustomed to parsimony, and a greater simplicity of living, than the other inhabitants of Sweden, or perhaps any where else: there is much less consumed within themselves, than procured, by their hard living, to supply the wants of their fellow-citizens in the other Swedish provinces. Their morals comprehend the utmost zeal for virtue and honesty; and nothing is more contrary to their sentiments, than to act against the best conviction they have, or can be possessed of; from whence it happens, that they abhor nothing more than those who practise the opposite sentiments. On which account, the Swedes, who are more vain, idle, and inconstant, have always used to reproach the Finnish people

ple for an invincible obstinacy; which, however, this people is not guilty of, except when, by principles of honesty, and motives of virtue, they are to defend what is, or at least what by them is thought to be true and just.

Never was a people found more loyal to their country, or more faithful to their kings; so that there might have been discovered in the conduct of their kings, the most shocking deviation from the principles of virtue and honesty, for being able to alienate the hearts of this people from their usual attachment to their lawful superiors. When the king Gustavus Adolphus was engaged in the German wars, and the Swedish troops seemed to him to withdraw, by some attack of the enemy, he used to threaten his Swedish soldiers, That, if they would not keep the field of battle, he would turn the Finnish soldiers against them, whom, by experience in several engagements, they had learned

learned to dread more than their enemies, in case the king had found himself under the necessity to make all possible use of the faithfulness of this people. Whatsoever might be their sentiments, they, however, complain loudly about the present state of the Swedish government; which, indeed, they have done, not without the greatest reason; However, by motives far from betraying disloyalty towards just and lawful superiors, but merely expressing their horror and weariness, by uncontrollable violences and cruelties, exerted by some few favourites of the court, in a degree, which cannot but exhaust their usual patience, and efface their modesty, in proportion as their unhappiness is grown intolerable, since their sufferings are quite insupportable.

There being scarcely any town in the internal part of Finland, excepting those maritime ones which are situated on the Finnish coasts: the inhabitants of the up-

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country suffer great hardships, by carrying their country productions to the market towns. The farthest country places being no less than 180 miles distant from the nearest town, and it being their custom to use only one horse for each sledge: sometimes eight weeks, at least, are required for performing this journey, by which an excessive cold is to be endured, and snow, of two yards and an half deep, must be passed through. The latter inconveniences have been much lessened, since snow ploughs were invented; of which, however, the inhabitants of the upper provinces, as Tavastland, Savolax, and Carely, seldom make any use, it being contrary to their old customs, and less practicable by them than in the southern provinces, where the snow is not so deep. All that a poor country peasant, or farmer, is able to carry to the town, by his troublesome journey, is but three tons of corn, some pounds of butter, tallow, flax and

and hemp. A quantity of hay for the provision of his horse, during some weeks journey, takes up the most space, and makes the greatest appearance on his sledge, which use to be a yard and a quarter broad, and almost six yards in length. After having sold his commodities at the town, he seldom can return more money than is wanted for paying the common taxes for that year; if he can bring his wife a new bonnet or handkerchief, he then certainly thinks he hath made a happy journey. There should be nothing more wanted, in order to remove the distress of this people, and to obtain a perfect advantage of this fertile country, but only some few towns, or publick roads, and inns, to be erected in these deserts; but a government, always busy in bribing only for power and dominion, most commonly use as much to be ignorant how to govern a people well, as they most easily are disposed to forget, that the

rulers are for the sake of the people, but not the people for the sake of the rulers.

Carely is all over mountainous, and filled with hills, or lakes and marshes, which cause the ground to be less fit for tillage than it is in the other Finnish provinces; on account of which, the inhabitants of this province, the clergy excepted, have been, from time immemorial, allowed to traffic, not only within Sweden, but also with the Russians, whose market-places they frequently use to visit, in the winter-time with sledges, and in the summer season with boats, of which they make use in passing the lakes or navigable rivers, flowing from Russia, and discharging themselves in the lakes of Finland.

All kinds of furs, of which there are plenty in Finland, use to be transported by them to the Russian towns, of which the Russians are very fond, and receive them rather than the Swedish bank-notes. In exchange, the Swedish Carelians import
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from Russia, besides corn and flour for their own use, hemp, flax, tallow, and thread, which they carry down to the Swedish market-towns, in order to gain by it. The Russian *ivory*-skins, tobacco, cloth, or silk stuffs, being contraband to be entered at Sweden, as the Russian thread and butter use to be the same for exportation from Russia: the Swedish, as well as the Russian traders, by the practice of smuggling, carried on on both sides, use frequently to be attacked; and always the loss, considered in general, much surpasses their gain by this trade. The government of Sweden being unacquainted with the private manners and customs of this people, and the means of their trade and subsistence: the inconveniencies resulting from it, either to private families, or to the nation in common, have never been minded, probably more through ignorance than neglect.

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The upper provinces of Finland abound with woods and vast forests ; but there being no public roads, and very few navigable rivers, the inhabitants are not capable of carrying them to the market-towns, which are very distant from these country places ; these vast forests, therefore, remain quite useless to Sweden, which could easily be employed to make up the riches of the poor inhabitants, and the wealth or ornament of the whole nation, were the government sided by those men of abilities, whom they so eagerly oppress and persecute.

Some few saw-mills are to be seen in these places, but merely for private use, which is very small ; as, for some few gentlemens houses, which most commonly are covered with deals. The distance being too great, and the inconveniencies far above that, as to be surmounted by the utmost hardships which this people else are accustomed to endure :

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such deals cannot be brought to the market towns.

The houses of the peasants, or their dwelling-rooms, called in the country language *poerten*, are built with timber, in the old Gothic manner, and without the least embellishments, either in the inside or on the outside. Only one room is, in the winter time, the common habitation of the whole family; and sometimes two, three, and four families may live in the same room. The richer peasants have commonly two rooms; but seldom or never inhabit them both at once. The reason of their being provided with two separate dwelling-rooms, is a particular trouble caused by some insects, called beetles and locusts, or, in the Finnish language, *torakat* and *sirkat*; which are found in vast quantities in all the upper countries of Finland, except within the distance of thirty English miles from the salt sea.

These

These insects are rather bigger than the common scarabeus and locust. As soon as the fire or light is extinguished, the room all over is filled with the beetles, and the locusts begin to sing and make a noise more than in the day-time, or when the room is lighted. The ears of the people, in which the locusts like to creep, and very closely attach to the bottom, are as much exposed to the locusts, as the whole body is the same to the beetles, by which the people are attacked as soon as it is dark; but by light these insects retire themselves behind or under those large furnaces, which serve in these countries instead of chimneys. In order to avoid these, and several other inconveniences, caused by the insects, the people remove each month, or every two weeks, from the one dwelling-room to the other; and one of these rooms being, in the meanwhile, exposed to the violence of that cold climate, which reigns in those places:

such are the only means by which the inhabitants preserve themselves against these vermin. Not to mention diseases and depopulation of the country, resulting from this ugly manner of living, where one small room is continually crowded, and often inhabited by no less than fifteen, twenty, or more persons; it also may not be uncommon, if sometimes, in this state of living, cases might happen, which should be attended to even by those rulers, who seem themselves to be ignorant of virtue and humanity.

The vast distance from the town, and the wanted establishments for procuring the people an easier life, which is in general the cause of their poverty, is the reason that they live in almost the same simplicity as has been discovered by people who have been found in the natural state of human life. Commodities of a small value, brought by them to the market-towns, do not allow them to return any
ornaments

ornaments for their houses or families; wherefore, seldom any glasses are used in their windows, nor can they have chimneys constructed of bricks, or embellished with iron-works; instead of which, they have small holes, of a quadrangular figure, cut in the walls of their dwelling-rooms, which serve them for windows; and are shut when it is dark, and opened for the day-light, by some wooden shutters made for that purpose. When wood is burning in the furnaces, in order to heat the room, which usually is done by the women once every day, early in the morning; the doors and the windows of the room are opened for carrying out the smoke, there being no other way for it, excepting a small hole in the roof of the house, made for this purpose, and which, during the smoke, is opened. Instead of candles, thin wooden sticks, well dried, are burned by them, fixed in the middle, or in more places of the same room. And

there being almost a continual night or twilight all the winter, or for about seven months, that fire is not extinguished, but for the space of two or three hours about noon. These burning sticks, which are prepared of fat fir, exposes them to a continual smoke; and hence it is, that the face, the neck, and the hands of these people, are not so white as those of the inhabitants of the lower countries, who can burn candles, or furnish their houses with greater conveniencies.

Sweden is reckoned among the oldest kingdoms on the earth; their first kings being derived, by some historians, from Magog, the grandson of Noah. There is an amazing series of kings reckoned by those historians, who, even in the later times, have compiled the Swedish annals. I have read many Swedish poems, and entertaining genealogies of their kings, and have found in these writings as great praises distributed to their kings, as in a-
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ny works of other nations: but I nevertheless can complain of nothing more than of my own ignorance, for I cannot know what good those so celebrated kings have done, there being so much good wanted in my native country. Only one man of integrity, placed but for a few years in public business, should blush, were he not capable of removing those marks of common misery in Finland; but the Swedish court, on the contrary, hath often thought it just and honourable, to raise its splendor and lustre upon the misery of this most wretched people.

The want of an easier connection with the trading towns, situated on the Finnish or Bothnick sea-coasts, is even the origin of several customs respecting the trade of these upper countries. As soon as the lakes and marshes in the autumn are frozen, and allow of a passage over the ice, the country villages dispatch their deputies to the sea-towns, in order to en-

quire the price of those products which they intend, at the approaching winter, to send down. They at the same time borrow money from the merchants; whom they afterwards pay with the wares carried down. Almost each country peasant uses to have his certain merchant whom he trades with; and sometimes the price of the merchandise is not fixed before the following year; for the merchants, who transport these country productions to Stockholm, being uncertain themselves what may be their gain at that place: they often delay the payment, till they return from Stockholm, and then agree with the country peasants about the price and payment of the wares received from them the preceding winter.

The knowledge of writing, or reading writings, these country peasants are quite unacquainted with; instead of which, like the old Goths, they make use of
sticks,

sticks, on which they accout, or carve their memorandums, with knives. Nor have schools ever been erected, for that purpose, in any of the villages of Finland; so that those who can have their children educated in the towns, or find themselves in a situation for affording them a private education in their own houses, are the only families who can get their children better bred than is usual in these places. This is not the case with the common people, but only with the nobility, and the most part of the clergy; who either send their sons to the public schools, established in the towns, and supported by the state; or, in other cases, private tutors are kept by each family. Those commonly employed as private tutors, are students of divinity, demanded from the university of Abo; the most part of whom, if they have not frequented the college of Upsala, often want education themselves.

themselves. Thus are also bred even the nobility, or the people of the first rank, who shall serve the court, rule the people, and influence more than the whole of their own nation. Some of the nobility use to send their sons to Paris, for receiving a better education ; but a youth who hath learned little or nothing at home, what will he, when committed to his own conduct, learn abroad, but vices and foolishness ? The youth being disposed for ease and pleasure, more than for serious business : a young nobleman sent from those remote forests of Finland, to the enchanting playhouses at Paris, knew, at his return, only the vices and exterior fashions of France, but was ignorant of their virtue or accomplishments, in so far as they could be applicable to their native country ; which, added to the domestic corruption, were thought the very means of polishing the inhabitants, of rendering their climate

mate soft, and their living easy or happy.

The manner of clothing themselves being, amongst the common people, as simple as is their diet and other living, scarcely any cloths or stuffs are by them returned from the market-towns, in exchange for those wares which they have brought down; instead of which, clothes of skin are wore in the winter season, and coarse cloth, or stuff, wrought at their own houses, by their own women, is used by them, when the climate is softer, or even in hard labour. The common people wear clothes of sheep-skins, made in the fashion of great coats, the woolly side being always turned towards the body; which, when it snows, or the snow is wet, they cover with another coat made of coarse cloth. Their hands are, in the same manner, covered with big gloves, made of dogs, bears, foxes, wolves, or reindeers skins, sometimes

times of sheep-skins, the hairy or woolly sides most commonly turned outwards; and next to the hands are used smaller gloves, made of wool, which are covered by the former. The head is preserved by large bonnets, made of the before-mentioned skins; the hairy sides turned inwards, and the outside covered over with some cloth or stuff. On the feet are most commonly, in the winter-time, wore two or three pairs of thick woolen stockings. Their shoes resemble half-boots, and are tied or wrapt round the legs, with broad bands, weaved of wool, or cut of skin, and they are well smeared and prepared, so as not to freeze in the strongest cold. Gentlemen wear great coats of finer cloths or stuffs, lined with the skins above-mentioned; which, most commonly, are made or bought in the towns. In as far as the people live in their usual simplicity, without any other grievance than what is caused by the rudeness of the climate,
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and their hard labours: they, however, think themselves happy, and wanting nothing, since perhaps they know no better, and nature is satisfied with little. But as soon as any political establishments amongst them take place, or even are wanted, they, in both cases, tend only to burden them with taxes, or to disturb their pretended happiness, and to increase their hardships; since oppression or neglect are the only advantages they reap, from the zeal of the rulers, tending merely to introduce their private conveniences, contrary to the climate, or to the immutable customs of the inhabitants.

They know little or no delicacy at all in their diet. Soon in the evening they go to bed, and rise early in the morning. Having no watches for measuring the time, they supply this want, by having, in each house, one or more cocks, who, by their crowing early in the morning, use to raise them. If there is to be no change in the
weather,

weather, or the cock is not taken by any illness, he every morning utters his first crowing about two o'clock; and then all the working people rise; but if it is no working day, or the times for labour are not very pressing, they keep their beds till four or five o'clock; or, in their words, till three, four, or more times of the cock's crowing. Some astronomical knowledge remains among this people, which they have retained from time immemorial, and by words or common custom propagated amongst themselves, of which they make use in measuring the time. They know the ursa major and minor, and several other stars, of which, in the night-time, they take notice; and from hence make their calculations about the advancement of the time.

Their breakfast, in the winter time, consists of boiled turnips, and broth made of water and flour. Those amongst them who can pour some milk in their broth,

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are called rich. Their dinner is almost the same; besides some beef or fish, which, by turns, are seen at their tables. Their supper commonly consists of hasty-pudding. In the summer time they could have plenty of food of milk, were they not under the necessity of converting all the milk into butter and cheese, which they bring down to the towns, in order to obtain money for paying the taxes; besides that the clergy, and some other officers are paid by them, not only with corn and money, but also with a certain quantity of butter and cheese, and other country productions; of all which, a third is to be paid to the clergy, and as much to the crown, besides a number of other taxes. Though they want nothing of those advantages which a fertile soil, or their own industry and labour can produce; they nevertheless stand in need of almost every thing, and find themselves cruelly oppressed, as long

as no measures have been taken by the rulers, in order to allow them the enjoyment of those advantages that nature itself hath provided them with; but, on the contrary, justice has been refused, open violences exercised, and taxes as enormous extorted from them, as from the southern subjects, who inhabit a softer climate, and are provided no less by the police of the country, than by nature, with prerogatives more agreeing with humanity.

The country all over being thinly inhabited, the most part of those who live in the internal part of it, are very distant from their churches; so that, in the winter time, when there is much snow, and they are troubled with the badness of the weather, and of the roads, a journey of no less than four, or sometimes five days, is required, before they can reach the nearest church. Some of the remotest families may, in some places, have a dis-

ance of 90 or 120 English miles; as, for instance, in the two extensive parishes, called Paldamo and Sotcamo, where the clergy use continually to travel round the parishes, and visit the families; but it, however, often happens in these places, that children die without ordinary baptism, and old people without having an opportunity of receiving the sacrament: burials and marriages, in so far as the ceremonies of them use to be performed by the clergymen, are often adhibited too late.

Those who inhabit the lower country, and have the towns at a shorter distance, have more frequent commerce with the merchants, and provide the towns with plenty of country productions. By making use of their vast forests, tar is extracted by them in great quantities; of which, after having been brought down to the market-towns, the merchants boil the pitch; which by them is transported, ei-

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ther abroad, or only to Stockholm. The tillage of the ground is more common here than in the upper countries; not so much for any greater fertility of the ground, as much more on account of the facility of transporting the corn and other wares to the markets. Those of the common people who live on the sea-coasts, and keep vessels themselves, for the transportation of their products to Stockholm, are possessed of more wealth, and keep a more splendid house; but their resources being emptied by such extravagancy, they possess nothing preferably to the upper inhabitants, but only a borrowed splendor, which is supported by those vast exports, which they, every summer, make of their products to Stockholm.

The arts are quite unknown in the country villages: scarcely is there a tailor, shoemaker, or smith to be found; for most part of the common people procure
their

their own necessities, each family for themselves. In some of the towns, as, for instance, Abo, only the most common arts are cultivated; and those of more refinement are professed no where else than at Stockholm: however, at present, they are, even at that place, as much in decay, as they have formerly been flourishing.

The towns, in relation to their trade, situation, or privileges, are divided into three classes, *viz.* inland towns, maritime towns, and marts for trade. Of the first kind, there are but two in Finland; one at the north end, called *Cajenaborg*, and the other *Tavastehus*, situated towards the southern end of Finland; both of which are distant from the sea about ninety English miles; and have a very small trade, excepting by the annual market, which, in the winter time, during two or three days, is usually held in these towns; on which occasion, they are visited by some merchants from the maritime towns, or

by the furrounding country men, and by some Russian peasants or merchants. The maritime towns, being what their common names point out, they at present are almost altogether marts; since they lately obtained liberty to trade abroad. One small and inconsiderable town, hard by Abo, and called Nadendal, is not of this number; and use to trade only within the kingdom, as with Stockholm, Abo, or any other place; which kind of trade is the principal one, even of all the rest of the Finnish towns, though they are endowed with the privileges of trading abroad. These maritime towns, being situated along the Finnish coast from south to north, or from Helsingfors to Tornea, are founded in places very distant from one another; so that there is a space of sixty or ninety English miles betwixt the most part of them. Notwithstanding this distance, which, one should think, would contribute to extend the trade of each town

town in particular, on account of their being situated at too great a distance for being able to prejudice or to charge one another; which seemingly might happen were they closer; but their trade, nevertheless, is very small and languishing, with regard to those great advantages they could have for improving it.

Were the country which surrounds the town well inhabited, ten millions of inhabitants could subsist in Swedish Finland, instead of only one, which it contains. But this is not the only proof of inattentive and unworthy rulers. The towns too, have never been advantageously connected with the upper country, by those rivers, which, from all parts of that country flow down to the town, and which could very easily be made navigable, were the rulers as much pleased in providing their subjects with conveniencies, as they are ready to injure them, and to reap advantages even of their ruin, in exposing them.

alternately to internal oppressions, or to external wars. Were some expences laid out in each summer season, these rivers might, in a few years, be made navigable; and it could never require any greater sums than what are annually spent by the king, in keeping at Stockholm continually an expensive horse-guard; which is as needless and hurtful to the country, as it never was the custom of good Swedish kings during the time of peace. Never had the Swedish kings so great revenues, nor were they encompassed by so many favourites, as the present king is; but they, however, were richer; for they remembered, that they were below the people, as men, and above them, only as the promoters of the happiness, and defenders of the rights of their people. Those very kings were, perhaps, better secured; for they knew the value of doing justice to the people, and of choosing their first officers from among noblemen of true merit and integrity.

No man, hath he the least sense of virtue and honour, would attack a good king; but rather, had he more than one life, he certainly would give it to his defence; as, on the contrary, men of integrity discover nothing with greater horror, than a throne engrossed by vices and injustice; which, as it is the greatest evil in human societies, since it renders no less than whole nations unhappy, it cannot but excite the greatest sorrow and aversion of good men. This, wicked kings know too well; and hence it is, that they fear the good, and like to be sided only by the wicked; whom, however, they fear no less than those of better sentiments among their subjects; a tyrant nevertheless imagines himself safe, when guarded by his sword, or when continually he can keep the knife at the throat of those whom he dreads. Such, history proves abundantly to have always been the weapons of injustice and violence,

particularly at courts where money hath been wanted ; and where iron must have supplied what could not have been effected by silver or gold. Which instruments, on the contrary, use to be almost unknown at a court where the prince hath been taught to gain the hearts of his subjects by unblameable royal virtues ; and where the throne is guarded merely by the practice of justice and humanity.

Gustavus I. of Vasa, the Swedish saviour, saved his people from foreign and domestic yoke ; from an oppressive influence of the pope, and from Danish tyranny ; he delivered his subjects from the unlimited insolence exerted upon them by their own nobility ; and from an insatiable clergy, whose pride and covetousness knew no bounds, and whose most abominable vices were rooted in the doctrines, sanctified by superstitious zeal, and adapted to the politics of that barba-

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rous century, devoted to darkness and slavery. Gustavus Adolphus defended the faith abroad, and protected justice and liberty at home; and both of these great kings agreed in undertaking and prosecuting nothing, either abroad, or at home, but what they found just and laudable; and, far from persecuting millions whom they knew innocent, they often regarded a single individual of good sense and integrity, as dear as their own lives. Such is the case where virtue or true honour is the principle of the government; which is the contrary, as soon as pride and crimes are once become the principles of it.

As want of connexion betwixt the towns and the upper country, by the rivers, deprive the traders of all advantages; some still greater inconveniences are caused by land, on account of the common want of public roads, or establishments of public carriages or waggons, so common in all
other

other countries over the world; and wanted no where else than in Sweden, and particularly in Finland. The peasants and merchants, as well as the rest of the commons of Sweden, being, during the preceding government, as miserable slaves under the senate and king, as they are at present under the king and senate, or some others whom the king chuses to protect as his favourites: the commons, and particularly the merchants, have less influence at present, than they ever had before, for improving their advantages, or extending any of their interesting views. They are neglected by the court, and, by prepared schemes, industriously opposed by those who have an uninterrupted opportunity of gaining the court's favour and protection, either by their own perfidy, or by the usual profligacy of a court by them corrupted. The study of politics is not how to promote the happiness of the commons, imagining such to
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be contrary to their own interest; they meditate merely how to raise their private wealth and splendor on the ruin of the whole; and hence it is, that even in its most flourishing state, the real lustre of that kingdom was but a splendid poverty. If we may use an obsolete parable, of which, however, the practice is worn out more than the style: A wise man, had he a sheep, he certainly would feed it, and use the wool for life, rather than take both the wool and the skin for a few moments; but wise men have for many years not been suffered at Sweden. And the greatest part of those who are placed in the higher offices, seem indeed as if they were affected with some kind of wildness; for they are either shy to the people below them; or, if allowed to be approached, they resemble as if they would make a bad use of their teeth.

The Bothnick and Finnish bays, are those waters which the vessels of Finland usually

usually cruise upon. Part of that sea, called, by its situation at the province Aland, the Sea of Aland, is passed through before they reach the islands; which, from the Baltic, open the passage to Stockholm, and are a strong fortification of that city, from the waterside, on account of the length and narrowness of this passage, running betwixt islands and high mountains, in a stretch of about seventy-two English miles from the east and north-east sides of Stockholm.

The Bothnick Bay, which is the most northern of the Swedish waters, and is situated between Norland and the northern part of Finland, is in length 600 English miles. In the middle of it is a long island, called Ulfoe; where the passage grows quite narrow on both sides of this island, and makes the navigable water no broader than six or seven English miles. It is in this place, where, in the autumn, so many Finnish vessels are wrecked,

ed. It is not above fifteen years since the first, and only light-house, was erected at the southern end of it; the northern and middle places of that island, which is above sixty English miles in length, are said still to want these establishments. Though the wants of Sweden are too numerous for being described in a volume such as this; these few, however, which have been here shown, prove evidently, that all the revolutions of that kingdom, excepting that by Gustavus I. of Vasa, have never been intended for the happiness of the state, or the welfare of the people; but have served merely to satisfy the pride and the rapacity, either of the court, or of a small number of nobles, by enslaving and ruining the rest of the nobles as well as commons. And the late revolution, instead of saving the wretched people from the insolence of an oppressive and cruel aristocracy, exerted most commonly by some few noblemen: the very
aristocracy

aristocracy was, by the new constitution, rendered irresistible, being vested in a despotic king, and uncontrollable courtiers; and nothing but a mere name, and the oppressive weight of an enormous power was allotted for the commons; which the citizens have, in these few preceding years, experienced too much.

Britain, in only one respect, not to mention numberless other circumstances, is the happiest kingdom on the earth; a well established trade is the basis of its happiness; the arrangement of the nobility is incomparable, their rights and titles being inherited only by their eldest sons. But, in Sweden, this is quite the contrary; trade is neglected, and the traders are despised, even in their family and posterity; the nobles, and not only their sons, but even daughters, inherit, merely by their birth, the titles and rights of their father; and the sons transmit the same prerogatives unto all their

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their children, to the latest posterity. But as these advantages cannot be enjoyed, but by encroaching upon the honour or interest of the rest of the citizens, the commons of Sweden are only, in this regard, charged far above that proportion and equality of rights, which should be most exactly observed in civil societies; and particularly in the most northern climates, where the soil and the living alone, of those inhabitants, seems to throw them below the happiness of the southern nations. The present king of Sweden, instead of diminishing, or at least not increasing the prodigious number of nobles created by his father the late king, in bribing for more power: hath, on the contrary, granted almost numberless charters of nobility, not only to those Swedish gentlemen who remained commons, by the sudden death of his father, but even to other youths, who have been best disposed to please him; and who, (were a
Gustavus

Gustavus Vasa, or Gustavus Adolphus, to rise from their tombs,) could, by those immortal heroes, scarcely be saluted pretty boys of Sweden. There being several clergymen, and others of the commons, whom the king could not engage to receive the charters of nobility themselves; and they being necessary to him in his prospects, he made their children noblemen. So that, either in rewarding his nobles, or in promoting the interest of his commons: the personal merit of the former has even so little been the true motive of his rewards; as the common welfare of the latter, never was the real object of his establishments.

As for the Laplanders, their manner of living is far below that of the rest of the human race; and, however much it is owing to the quality of the soil, and the climate inhabited by this people, there are, nevertheless, no wants or hardships in their common or private œconomy, which,

which, by art or industry, could not either be removed or alleviated, were the police of the country directed towards the softening, rather than accumulating the misery of this people. By Swedish Lapland, is understood some part of the most northern end of Finland, and the uppermost part of Norland, towards the boundaries of Norway. The farthest places are situated, some of them 180, and others 240 English miles from the Bothnic Bay, upwards in the country; and their habitation is stretched from south to north, parallel with the province of Westerbotten, or from the most southern town of Westerbotten, called Uhmea, to the most northern town of the same province, called Tornea, which, in the north, is the last town in Sweden, situated under the 65th degree 45 minutes north latitude. There is no one town in Lapland, nor are there in the upper part of it any country villages; for the inhabitants live in huts some

miles distant from each other, and made of long trees, of which some branches are cut off, and the trunks raised upon their ends on the ground; so that the upper ends lean towards one another, in such a manner, as to make their huts exactly to resemble a cone or sugar-loaf. The inside of these huts is sometimes covered with skins of rein-deers, and the outside with moss and branches of the trunks, employed, either to build the hut of, or to heat it. The fire is kept on the ground, in the middle of the hut, and the smoke is carried out by the top, where a hole is left for that purpose. The basis, or ground within the hut is about three and an half yards in diameter; sometimes more; and its height about five or six yards, or more. Those of the family who can stay at home, or are not employed in guarding the rein-deers on the tops of the mountains, dwell day and night in these huts. Their beds most
commonly

commonly consist of one rein-deer's skin; which each of them displays on his determined space of ground, round the fire-place; the hairy side of the skin being turned towards the body, and the upper side of the body being covered with another skin of the same kind, they are in that manner well provided against the cold. They, however, often use to sleep in their clothes, made of the rein-deers skins.

Shirts, or other linen, are used very little, or not at all, amongst them; for they sow no hemp or flax on their mountainous grounds. And in places where the ground could be cultivated, ignorance, or prejudices of old customs, prevent them from making use of all those advantages which nature has provided them with. In the lowest part of Lapland, situated nearest to the towns of Norland or Westerbotten, a small quantity of corn is sowed; which, as is usual in all those northern

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countries,

countries, is sown very late in the spring, but is ripe for the harvest much earlier than in the southern countries ; for the snow still covering their fields till the beginning of the month of June, prohibits them from an earlier tillage of their grounds ; and the sun, which day and night, in the summer time, appears above their horizon, and keeps their air soft, makes their growth advance day and night, and allows their harvest to be earlier than in these southern countries, where the growth, favoured in the day time by the heat, is in the night time stopped by the absence of the sun, and a cold air which then takes place. Whatsoever may be the advantages of their soil or climate, the tillage of the ground, however, is almost unknown among them ; and bread is nevertheless as much liked and wanted by them, as brandy or other liquors ; which their hardships, joined to the rudeness of the climate, makes them like no less

less than some other necessities much wanted amongst them. Sensible rulers would have been prone to found their glory on the happiness of these most wretched subjects, had they been as solicitous to promote the welfare of a declining society, as they have been zealous to extend their power, and to erect their ranks amidst these poor huts; but, what was become of kings, since they were no more the fathers of their people, but merely proud usurpers of those, upon the simplicity and misery of whom, they could deceitfully raise their splendor. The lowest man, had he any sense and ambition, would rather starve, than eat his bread gathered from the neglected huts of those miserable slaves; but the highest of men seem to think themselves entitled to insensibility in point of shame and true honour; excepting when they like to cover their own infamy with the contempt, or even defamation of the rest of men.

The trade of the Laplanders is founded on their private œconomy and manner of living, which consist in watching their reindeers, in hunting, and catching fish. They bring down to the maritime towns the products which they acquire by this kind of living; and, in exchange for their wares, they obtain chiefly corn, small quantities of salt, and some few other merchandises of the towns, together with silver coins, of which they are very fond. Uhleaborg, Tornea, Lulea, Bitea, and Uhmea, are those only towns which they visit in carrying on the internal trade of Sweden; and Norway is perhaps the only country known to them for any trade abroad.

The wealth of a Laplander, being measured according to the number of reindeers which each of their families is possessed of; a prodigious number of these reindeers is required before he can be classed among the rich of the inhabitants. The
greatest

greatest number belonging to only one family, amounts to about 1500, or sometimes 2000 ~~sheep~~; however those are few who possess so many. The poorest among them have fifty or one hundred; and the middle sort of these families most commonly possess five or six hundred reindeers; which number is indeed very small, when one considers, that these reindeers must not only feed and clothe the family all the year over; but likewise serve instead of horses in continual journies undertaken by them, in the winter time, to so distant towns or market places; in which journey, on account of their having no roads, but only high mountains, vast wildernesses, deep snow, and thick forests to surmount and pass through, thirty or forty reindeers are required for the same purpose, which is effected in the lower countries with only one horse.

They never are accustomed to see any of the gentry, except their clergyman, the country judge twice in the year, the steward of the crown when he gathers the taxes; or even when they themselves, in the winter time, take their journey down to the maritime towns, or when their own market places are, in the month of February, visited by the merchants of those towns. In the month of January, the Laplanders set out on their journey down to the towns; and often their women, and sometimes children of seven or eight months old are allowed to accompany them. Only one person at once can have place in their sledges, which (in their country language) are called *archia*, or *cumiska*; and resemble very much one of the smallest boats used by the watermen at London, for passing the Thames, were the back-end of these boats not acute as the fore-end, but merely cut off, in such a manner as

to make that end as broad as the middle of the boat. The cumisks are of unequal bigness; some of two, others of three yards in length; and they are no broader than for leaving place to only one person; who always is seated on the back-end of the cumisk; the feet covered with a skin, and the upper part of the body left in the air, and quite easy, for being in readiness to give the cumisk a proper balance by each of its motions; which the Laplanders know well to manage, and others who have been taught, only are able to imitate. The end of a leather thong, or sometimes a string made of flax, being fastened to a hole in the fore-end of the cumisk, and conducted betwixt the legs of the reindeer, and the other end of the string being attached to the neck of the deer, serves instead of harness and shackles. Another string, smaller than the former, serves the purpose of reins; of which the one end is fastened to the reindeer's

deer's horn, and the other end of this string being wrapped, in a prudent manner, round the wrist of the hand of those who sit in the cumisk: the deer is governed by it, without being able to hurt the hand, which happens, if the string is not wrapped and kept round the hand in the proper way. By this string, the reindeer is turned on either side, only by throwing the string on that side of the reindeer's back, towards which one would have it to be turned. In passing down the high mountains, there is no other means used in governing the reindeer, but by forcing it to run as fast as possible, and at the same time retarding the cumisk with the hands or arms thrust into the snow, in order to prevent the hinder legs of the deer from being hurt by the cumisk; which, if it happens, it is exasperated, and endeavours often to attack the manager of it. There, however, is another great inconvenience in passing
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down these high rocks and mountains; for if those reindeers which are the furthestmost, should stop in running down the hills, which often happens, those who follow after, and keep always the same paths, in passing the same hill, cannot avoid running the fore-part of the cumisk through the back of the man who passes next before, and thus gives him most commonly a mortal blow; which has happened, especially to clergymen and other officers, on account of their being less accustomed to such journies than the common Laplanders. Often, only one of the common people, on their journey to the towns, manage fifteen or more deers; by placing himself to manage the furthestmost of them, and by a string fastening the deer, which follows next after him, to his cumisk; and fifteen or twenty being all thus tied to one another's cumisks: the Laplander, by managing the furthestmost, governs them all; however,

however, it is attended with many hardships and dangers.

The wares brought down by them to the towns, commonly are, dried tongues, the cheese, and meat of reindeer; the horns, and skins of the same deers; great coats, gloves and boots, made by themselves, of reindeers skins, of which the hairy side is turned outwards, and are very much esteemed and worn, even by the gentry of the northern Swedish countries, on account of their peculiar property of resisting the cold, and keeping the body warm; skins of other deers caught by them in hunting, and dried fishes, are likewise carried down to the towns. Guns and gun-powder being little used by them, they most commonly hunt with bows and arrows, and spears of iron, fastened on the top of wooden poles. The reason of an old custom of having their fishes, and all sorts of meat, always dried, rather than salted, is derived from the
great

great difficulty they meet with in carrying either the salt from the towns to their distant dwelling-places, or in conveying the salted wares down to the towns. Besides, their cumisks are not fit for containing tons or barrels, and they frequently are disappointed in obtaining the salt at the towns, which often want it themselves, before the vessels can arrive from Stockholm, whence these provinces are provided with the salt, the maritime towns of Westerbotten being not allowed to trade, but within the kingdom. When they approach the towns of Westerbotten, they leave their reindeers some miles behind them, and drag their cumisks themselves to the towns, on account of there being no food in the towns for their deers, which feed upon a kind of white moss, growing only upon those mountains which are situated at the distance of seven or eight English miles from the towns. The horses, moreover, are much frightened at the
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the fight of those deers; of which to prevent the bad consequences, they are prohibited from approaching with their deers the towns, or even the highway which passes through the towns.

When the Laplanders return from the towns, the merchants usually follow them up to Lapland, in order to assist the annual markets kept by the Laplanders, in the month of February. When a stranger from the lower country visits their huts, they are at the utmost trouble how to receive their guests in the most friendly manner. Bread being little used by them, they immediately fill the table with meat, cheese, and tongues of reindeers, either dried, or else dressed in their usual manner. Butter is as little wanted as used among them; the meat of their own deers being no less fat than delicate. If their guest is a gentleman of any appearance, or an officer of the crown, they, at last, or instead of the deserts usually gotten at the court, bring to
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the table a wooden cup, filled with silver money, asking their guest to take as much of it as he wants.

In the natural state in which this people seem to live, virtue and humanity are thought to be unknown; but alas! it is in corrupted courts, and degenerated societies, where these true ornaments of the human race are banished; and the utmost distress and misery of the lower sort of men looked upon as too gloomy objects for those higher prospects, tending to ravage countries, and to deprive societies of happiness.

The ordinary business of the Laplanders being to watch their deers, they seldom stay in their huts, but are under the necessity to follow the flocks of their reindeers, and dwell on the mountains, in holes like rooms, digged in the snow. As the deers, which live upon the white moss growing on these mountains, cannot feed long upon one rock, they remove from one hill to another, to find food for them,

them. When it happens to rain in the autumn, before the tops of the mountains are covered with snow, and thus, by a following sudden cold, the moss should be changed, together with the water, into ice, which does not allow their deers to feed upon it: the deers, and especially the young colts, starve; whence a great loss; or entire ruin, often ensues to the proprietor of them: which is the cause that a Laplander is, more than the rest of men, subject to that vicissitude of human happiness, which allows him, the one year, to be rich, without knowing whether he, the next year, may possess more than the most distressed amongst his countrymen. Happy were mankind, and Sweden especially, if their kings, who, either by virtue and birth, or by perfidy and violence, have attained the wealth and splendor of a throne, would remember, that there is a supreme Being, most just, and most sacred; who only, in the series

of human corruption, may once as easily precipitate them down to a station contrary to their desires, and infatuated pride. If even the voice of truth were, in our corrupted times, suppressed, as indeed it is by the flattering voice of untruth and violences; the experience, and impartial histories of Sweden and other nations, will cry so loud, as to be heard even by those who have reached the summits of splendid deafness. Truth and justice being the only pillars capable of supporting a man entrusted with the duty of exerting authority and power; nothing but the most malicious wickedness, or the stupidest ignorance, can induce rulers rather to neglect than to perform their main virtues; to what temptations soever their passions, or the fictitious beauty of their own vices, might expose them. It also is too evident, that the rulers of Sweden, either through inexcusable ignorance, or malicious inadvertency, have neglected the
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interest, and lavished the welfare of their distressed fellow-citizens, and, which is more cruel, shut up their ears to their loudest complaints. When such is the case, a subject who knows his right, and in vain has made all decent attempts to obtain it, he may then look for a good king where he can find him; persuaded, that a good subject may, among polished nations, as easily find his bread and protection; as an usurper can, among stupid ignorants, and wicked wretches, invade an uncontrolled crown and sceptre.

Nature hath indeed dispersed high rocks and contiguous mountains at Lapland, which, however, in certain directions, are interspersed with fertile vallies, or hills fit for tillage, were only the skill and industry of the inhabitants cultivated, and their living, by education, as well as by softening their hardships, adapted to the advantages of society, for allowing them to reap any fruits from it.

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Their vallies and hills would provide the men with as great plenty of sweet bread, as their enormous mountains, though covered but with moss and snow, would feed their deers, and present nothing worse than continually flourishing meadows, providing their cattle with a rich pasture winter and summer. Some few establishments, however, have been made at Lapland; for, within the space of about one thousand years, some few schools have been erected, and as many churches built amongst them. The clergy have received encouragement for preaching the gospel amongst them; and a minister who is employed in the service at Lapland, accounts his merit three years for each one, during the time he does service in that country; and is, within a few years, removed to some of the best parishes in the lower countries. But as this establishment tends merely, not to deprive the inhabitants of an opportunity of taking

notice of the Christian doctrines, it for the rest affords them no advantages besides, either in their private trade, or œconomy. Some years ago, a deputy of the œconomy was dispatched to Lapland, who, after having discovered a gold mountain to be possessed by the crown, rendered no further service to that country, or its distressed inhabitants. A gold mine founded three years ago at the last mentioned mountain, promises the crown of Sweden an opportunity of rummaging as much gold from the rocks, as its stewards are accustomed annually to gather silver from the Laplanders themselves; without improving, either in the one, or in the other case, the most wretched situation of these human spoils.

Briberies, usual in the other Swedish countries, were not in the same manner practised in Lapland. Cultivated fields, adorned with sumptuous buildings, being unknown on these mountains, hiding the
inhabitants

inhabitants in poor huts, erected betwixt frosty rocks : it had been a small gain to exercise secret or open injustice and violences, either in order to deprive them of their property, or even to allow a favourite to be proprietor of it, as a reward too much contemptible, in his eminent station. But as the Laplanders like money, which by their own industry and assiduity they are possessed of; it is their silver or their deers which commonly are involved in contests. On account of their being at too great a distance from the higher Swedish courts of justice, and having besides heard, that in the usual way of trials, much is lost, but nothing gained, excepting injustice and poverty : they chuse to suffer the greatest injury rather, than pursue their complaints any further than before their own country judge. Or, if it happens, though very seldom, that a Laplander appears at Stockholm, in order to pursue his invaded rights, he,

on account of his strange behaviour, and poor dress, is looked upon, not with compassion which he deserves, but merely with admiration, or contempt; which the admirers themselves are the true cause of, and should blush, either at their own stupid ignorance, or wicked negligence, rather than gaze at the misery of those, whose happiness never was the object of their pride and briberies.

One instance more may serve to shew, with how much curiosity this nation is regarded, and how far this people are below both the knowledge and enjoyment of the happiness of other nations. It happened, some few years ago, during the reign of the late king of Sweden, that the Swedish court demanded, that a Laplander, together with his wife, might be sent to Stockholm, and presented to the court, with their usual dress and manners. The man and wife, having appeared at court, were sent afterwards to France, in order

to be in the same manner shown to the court at Paris. The French king was pleased to dress them in silk, and to present them with gold watches ; but the climate being too hot, the diet and language strange, they liked to return to their friends and relations in their own country, rather than to stay so far abroad. A strange virtue, possessed by these uncultivated minds, when compared with the sentiments of some nobler beings at Sweden ; who might have received larger pieces of French gold, without occupying their minds with carefulness how to employ these vast sums to the honest use of their native country, rather than how best to spend them in carrying on intrigues and bloodshed at home and abroad.

Poetry and eloquence being almost the only flowers which, at present, are growing on the Swedish Parnassus ; and as they serve much, in corrupted societies, either to cover vices, or to embellish open mischiefs : the court and its favourites, in

cherishing, and carefully cultivating this growth, expect to reap, merely from this trade, a rich harvest; and the very art, however yet in its infancy, hath nevertheless served to save the wicked men from that block and gallows, where, not many years ago, the most honest men were sacrificed: but Heaven will once plead, on the earth, in favour of these innocents.

Two news-papers, one for the affairs abroad, and another of news happened within the kingdom, are published each twice in the week. In 1770 was established another paper, called, *Daily Any Thing*; which is published every morning, and serves to manage the opinions and the spirits of the people, according to the prospects of their leaders. A certain monopoly is exerted, especially in publishing the daily news, in so far, that the printer of this paper not only has the king's warrant, excluding all other printers from publishing such papers, but

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he likewise is a particular favourite of the king and the court ; so that whatsoever, of importance, is left to him, in order to be inserted in that paper, is known to the rulers before it is published ; and is by them either delayed, or the contents of it opposed, by their own publications, contrary to the former, before it can appear in public. In the course of three, or even four weeks, the anecdotes, after they have been left in the hands of the printer, are retarded from being inserted in the public paper ; and if they contain any thing contrary to the politics of the times, they, however, are not absolutely refused by the publisher from being inserted in the daily paper, if the author most earnestly insist upon it ; but in the meanwhile, the favourites employ all the force of their poetry and talents, in embellishing their own misconduct, and abating the reprimand of it, which yet hath not appeared, but only to their favourite

vourite printer. Two years ago, a kind of another daily paper was introduced to the public, which contained matters merely concerning divinity and piety; the intention of it being, to render the misconduct of the rulers beautiful and pleasing, even to those within the country, who profess either the religious or the superstitious parts of devotion. But, as the preceding impiety was too apparent, this sacred poetry served only to irritate the superstitious, and persuade the clear-viewing, with how much art and hypocrisy the court and its favourites would act the pious too.

As the news-papers served to conduct the opinion and the sentiments of the people in general; so, the play-houses at Stockholm produce the same effects, within a narrower circle of citizens, and upon minds of a thinking genius; from whom the despotic spirit, the manners and the sentiments thus prepared and managed, were derived and propagated, by and by,
even

even in the provinces; since the more distant subjects are not only desirous of receiving news from those of Stockholm, but likewise arduously imitate all the customs, fashions, and sometimes even the thoughts of that capital. Plays and masquerades have been less suffered by the Swedes in general, than by other nations, especially the latter. The late king, however, as well as the present, found both the plays and the masquerades indispensibly necessary, in the particular views of the court, as these very amusements, when exhibited with skill, and managed by virtue and innocence, may be reckoned amongst the useful losses of time and money. The Swedish theatre was formerly presented by Frenchmen, till the year 1771, when the present king of Sweden, as he was at Paris, ordered, by a letter to his counsellors at Stockholm, that the comedies and opera should, in future, be performed by Swedish actors and actresses.

Besides

Besides some œconomical principles, discovered in the new establishment, the chief motive of its being introduced at that time, was, undoubtedly, to prevent the French comedians from penetrating some designs of the court; which designs, even for the time to come, could not have been concealed so well, if the court had been restricted only to this small number of foreign confidants. During the present king's stay at Paris, there were, undoubtedly by orders of the court, several curious dramatic compositions presented upon the theatre of Stockholm, one of which was more remarkable than all the rest of them, and was played some few days before the late king suddenly died at that capital. The universal mourning, which followed his death, suspended, for some time, the plays; and the continuation of them was, after that time, opened by the Swedish drama, presented by the subjects, and in the language of that country,

country. But as the qualification of the ancient play-house, depends entirely upon the taste, and the pleasures of the court, and is governed merely by its favourites, or by presents distributed to the players, according to the sentiments and the prospects of the court: the patriots amongst the rulers have found this monopoly of plays contribute too much to the corruption of the manners, and the promoting of ignorance, or seductive opinions of the true state of the Swedish affairs. In order to remove these dangerous inconveniencies, they lately erected at Stockholm, another play-house, in a garden, called *Humle-Garden*, where several entertaining amusements are to be had, and where, in the most lively manner, often use to be presented the true state of the present commonwealth of Sweden. The *Management of Order and Justice*, was, about two years ago, presented at this play-house, which was performed with so much accuracy, that those who knew the
Swedish

Swedish courts of justice, and the present manner of managing matters of trial, and now attended this theatrical representation, might very easily have been capable to forget, whether they assisted at the play-house, or the court of justice itself. There was, for instance, presented, a court of justice, which all sorts of injured citizens approached, as well from the nearer as remoter provinces, in order to complain about their grounds, and other properties, of which they had been deprived in a violent and unlawful manner; and, with their wives and children, been not only reduced to the utmost distress, but the husbandmen, moreover, partly threatened in their houses, in a cruel and tyrannical manner, partly imprisoned, or whipped with rods in publick. Those actors, who represented injured persons, from distant places, were, accordingly, provided with sacks, filled with provision for a long and troublesome journey; but, as the whole

care of the represented court, tended only to empty the sacks, and, in the most artful manner, make themselves masters of the provisions contained in them, the complaining parties returned from the theatre, without other gain, than empty sacks, and a starving condition.

The administration of justice and equity, being of so extensive a nature as to influence all the affairs which possibly can fall under the management of a government: it consequently is no wonder, if, at Sweden, in its present state, complaints are heard proffered by subjects of all ranks and conditions; for, the head being not well, the whole body cannot but be subject to common sufferings.

Before the revolution, frequent complaints were made against prejudices, by which, in creating officers, men of insignificant qualities were preferred to those of uncommon merit. But, at present, the same injustice is double: honour and virtue

tue are neglected, by rewarding vices; and innocence is oppressed, in protecting the prevailing injustice. Merit is merely flattered, as long as yet there is no opportunity for reducing men, of renown and force, to the lowest station of contempt and infamy. But there is no sooner an occasion for it, but the court is capable of prejudicing, not only men of uncommon merit, but even those, to the valour and qualities of whom, it owes all its present prerogatives; and none but the most wicked, and the most unqualified for rendering any real services to the state, are judged worthy of being supported and protected. But, were the rewards, even of those, founded upon principles of more firmness, they undoubtedly would insensibly detest their own wickedness, and adhere to the court with as inviolable an attachment, as is compatible with the steadiness of virtue and innocence; upon which they, in such a case, would be allowed to build their happiness,

happinefs, rather than upon the ufual in-
constancy of perfidious or cruel maxims,
fupported merely by dangerous intrigues,
and briberies in their nature deteftable.
The general objects of a govern-
ment being the fame as that of juftice
and equity, viz. perfons, things, and
actions; which constantly are in the view
of thofe who fhall maintain the fupreme
power of a ftate: it would be too prolix,
to pafs through all the peculiarities,
which can afford infenfible rulers an im-
meafurable field for exercising injuftice
and violence. In purfuing truths without
colouring them, either with embellifhments
borrowed from eloquence, or with unfea-
fonable filence, both equally capable to fa-
vour iniquity: one muft allow, that there
is no village, no town, or province, which
does not figh under the heavy burthens
of oppreffion; nor is there any trade or
ftation, of what condition foever, which

is not harassed by persecutions, and injured without hope of protection or safety.

The present constitution of Sweden, which seems to allow the people some share in the supreme power, comprehends paragraphs constructed upon subtilities, which, in the same manner as the allowed liberty of the press, by exceptions inserted in almost each paragraph, recalls what is granted in the preceding ones; and thus leaves the laws and constitutions open to any kind of explanation suitable to the views of an oppressor entrusted with power, whensoever they choose either to use or abuse that unlimited authority.

The citizens, conscious of the deceit, merely by experienced sufferings, and seeing themselves and their properties left in a defenceless state, without being protected, either by the laws or by men, they cannot but consider themselves as undone in all respects; without even venturing to proffer complaints in so calamitous a situation,

tion, since, by unhappy experience, they have found their complaints serviceable to nothing else than to hasten their final ruin, instead of the obtaining of justice.

Parties and jealousy are not merely kindled, but even carried so far, as to enrage the officers against one another, for giving them an occasion of extirpating themselves, by exposing them at once to the mercy of their swords, and to the vengeance of laws which sacrifice the criminal, after his sword has been used to stab the innocent. Those who are no less governed by their own wisdom, than inspired with courage and intrepidity, seem to want their talents for being able to suffer the injury with patience, rather than, out of vanity, expose their lives to a perfidious overmatch, supported by meanness, unbecoming men of honour. The king being on his journey to Finland, two of his life-guards fighting a duel, one of them, a young noble-

man, by name Stierneld, a son of the vice-president at the high court of justice at Abo, was found dead on the field of battle; which, having been reported to the king by his counsellors, it struck him with astonishment; and asking his counsellors, how to remedy that kind of frenzy, which for some time had begun so frequently to break out amongst his officers? To which some of those who were present, it is said, answered, That there were no better remedies for it, than that his majesty would be pleased to employ in his service, men endowed with manly virtue and steadiness, rather than boys without age or experience. About the same time, a similar case had happened at Stockholm, between a colonel and a lieutenant of the king's life-guard. They were both on their watch at the court; but the lieutenant being engaged to breakfast by the prince Charles, and by the prince regaled longer than, according to his orders, he could

could absent his watch: at the return of the lieutenant, the colonel was under the necessity, according to the military constitution, to reproach him with the neglect of his duty, and threaten him with arrestment; at which, the lieutenant, who was young, and of a choleric constitution, found himself affronted to the last degree; and he, a few minutes after, sword in hand, attacked the colonel in his own room; where, to the disgrace of the latter, the bloody battle was fought.

It appears, from what already hath been laid down, how gradually a people advance from the utmost freedom to the meanest slavery; and that a nation never is nearer the loss of liberty, than, when the constitution, by which the liberty is guarded, is abused, and justice perversely administered; when those who shall rule the people, abandon themselves to corruption and intrigues, by which men of integrity are neglected, and the prevailing wickedness favoured

and protected. Those men of profligate characters begin then to prevail, and the corruption insensibly becomes general. Oppression generates weariness amongst the people; and men of skill being the only persons capable of distinguishing between the faults of the governors, and those of the government: but either are they not suffered, or, if ready to abuse their talents, the invaders of liberty are too attentive, for allowing such to escape their service. The oppressed people, who always are ready to join their views with those who promise them safety, are then, merely by their sufferings, easily persuaded to throw off liberty itself, when provoked either to expel only the usurpers of it, or to restore the inestimable use of freedom, in banishing only the abuse of it. Such was the unhappy fate of the Swedes, which, indeed, they seem to have, during the present government, experienced too soon.

Liberty

Liberty itself, was, during the former government, abused, for about twenty years; and corruption was grown as general, as the cruelties exerted by wicked rulers of that time; but the effects of it, were, however, never so oppressive, nor produced they so common sufferings, as they have done during the present government of Sweden, in only three or four years. During the former state of government, though sometimes dangerous in its abuses, there, nevertheless, at another time was found, a party who could venture to let the court know the truth, and to lay their sufferings before the public, or even to humble a wicked aristocracy, composed of an insolent senate, merely by throwing some few corrupted senators down from their chairs. But these golden times are no more; and nothing remains, but what is far below the freedom of beasts, which even may, at

least complain, when they are used badly, and find compassion by undeserved sufferings.

Finally, I myself proceed to make some few objections, against some expressions obvious in the style of this work, since I have no less doubt, my adversaries will do the same, as soon as this volume appears in public, in order to cover their intrigues, and to authorise their detestable misconduct, so much inveighed against in these pages. And, in order to deprive them of all other arguments, in justifying their behaviour, than their usual injustice and inhumanity, I will endeavour to find out, myself, some critics, which they themselves never can attempt, however deeply may be rooted their principles, either of secret tyranny or open infamy.

In the first place, it might be objected, that I have too freely called for the review of the conduct of a king, who is answerable only to the Supreme Being for
his

his conduct; on which account, I could not be capable of avoiding *crimen lese majestatis*. A king, who has committed a perjury before God and man, can, neither before the one or the other, answer for such misbehaviour; and he will be as much disagreeable to the Supreme Ruler, as he is with sorrow and defiance regarded even by his most loyal subjects; who hardly can place their confidence in one who seems himself not to have been sensible in eluding his most uncontrollable Superior. Besides, I have rather defended, than offended majesty, by detesting vices, which, if committed by any king without repairing his faults, would render majesty all over the world suspected, and at last universally detested *. The revolution at Sweden, if conducted by wisdom, and supported by virtue and honour, could have been performed by hundreds of other means, rather than

* Read the Roman history of Tarquinius Superbus,

than by banishing the most sacred principles of virtue and honesty, had the chief motives of it been the happiness of mankind in general, and of Sweden in particular. Moreover, it is not quality, but innocence, which exempts men from reproofs; and were there as many to surround kings with evident and undeniable truths, as there are perfidious flatterers enough to enchant them with virulent praises, in order to encrease the number of their faults, merely by concealing their errors from them: there certainly should be found more happy subjects, and the histories preserved for immortalizing the deeds of great kings, would transmit to posterity a less number of tyrants, usurpers, and oppressors. The Egyptians, for some time, were accustomed to bury wicked kings under their gallows; and, during that time, they had very few kings but what were adorned with the most accomplished roy-

al virtues. But had, instead of such punishments, the Grecian poetry and eloquence been employed for the same purpose, during the reign of each of their kings : none of their kings, and few of their subjects, had been buried under any gallows.

Further, it may be objected, that the conduct of kings can hardly be judged of during their lifetime. I am no more within the Swedish dominions ; and having, for just reasons renounced all allegiance to a king, who, notwithstanding my repeated solicitations, did neglect the fulfilling of his royal obligation, and refused duly to protect mine and my fellow - citizens rights, and defend our innocence, I consequently, as being now without his dominions, have a right to be ignorant of any of his further rights towards me, and I ought to consider him merely as a past king, whose supremacy cannot exist in Britain ; and recognise for the present, none but his most
sacred

sacred Majesty George III. of Great-Britain, as my lawful king; to the laws and interests of whose dominions, I will and shall most faithfully and most duly conform all my conduct; since I do not doubt, but I may, as an useful and loyal subject, have leave, according to the laws of Britain, to enjoy a common advantage with the rest of the British subjects.

Further, it is but a short while that the king of Sweden hath ruled his subjects, for having been able to finish his schemes, and procure them more happiness. A good purpose must not be aimed at by wicked means, by which are produced much hurt and damage, but little happiness; if ever such schemes should be productive of any common welfare. But, supposing that the king of Sweden's oppressive intrigues could once procure for his subjects any shadow of happiness, those who live at that time, cannot but write an history to his praise; in which case, if the historians

rians are men of truth and impartiality, they are under the necessity to begin the history with the faults he has committed, and finish it with his royal virtues. Were my days to reach those unexpected times ; it would even then be my utmost ambition, to emulate with those writers about the preserving of an as inviolable attachment to the truth ; and I would exercise as inblameable an impartiality, in doing the justice due to each one of his qualities.

In as much as the senators of Sweden might reproach my proceedings, in exposing their veritable characters to a public review ; I plead my excuse rather too much, merely by owning that their misconduct hath been rather too mean, and their sentiments too contemptible for deserving the least apology of my writings. Never had the constitution been abused, nor liberty banished from Sweden, had those very men who supported the name of the guardians of liberty, been as much
attached

attached to the common welfare of their country, as they are addicted to intrigues and briberies in favour of despotism, which seems to ensure them their licentiousness for life. To satisfy my own modesty, rather than justify my conduct, I, however, will, for a moment, make use of some of their laws, in order to defeat them with their own weapons, by finishing this book with

A T R A N S L A T I O N

Of the ELEVENTH PARAGRAPH

Of his royal majesty of Sweden's renewed ordinance and commandment respecting writing and printing at Sweden; issued at the royal palace at Stockholm, April 26th, in the year 1774.

§ II.

“ A true history of past kings, rulers, and their ministers, hath, both
 “ in former and later times, been much
 “ esteemed

“ esteemed by the most part of nations ;
“ as a matter most conducive to objects
“ of the utmost expediency, to impart to
“ governing men and persons, remark-
“ able instances of wit, and laudable
“ deeds ; but, on the other hand, the
“ most necessary admonitions against pre-
“ cipitated, undeliberated, deceitful, or
“ even cruel and mean counsels and facts ;
“ likewise, that those of the obeying,
“ might, of the events of preceding go-
“ vernments, the better attend to, know,
“ understand, manage and defend, duties
“ pertaining to them, their freedom and
“ rights, with all common and private
“ safety. But that in such historic works,
“ nothing may be wanted, tending to
“ their accomplishment, we will even,
“ with regard to them, extend the liberty
“ of writ and press, so far as to allow all
“ the peculiar, partly secret, partly more
“ known events, or known anecdotes,
“ which, during past governments, have
“ happened

“ happened, either in this kingdom, or
 “ any where else, to be published, toge-
 “ ther with political reflections concern-
 “ ing them.”

Since this book contains nothing strik-
 ing against the Swedish government it-
 self, but merely inveighs against the vices,
 or usurpers of it; this history might,
 however, when dressed in a different style,
 have been published at Sweden, accord-
 ing to the preceding law, were not li-
 berty banished from that country; or were
 it ruled by laws and justice, rather than
 by the unlimited wickedness of the fa-
 vourites, protected by uncontrollable in-
 justice, and supported no less by open
 violences, than by secret cruelties; which,
 since the laws are constructed upon subtil-
 ties and deceitful exceptions, allows there
 to be as many secret tyrants as there are
 favourites, who apply those laws to the
 facts, not in conformity either to the e-
 quitable sense of the laws, or common
 justice,

justice, but, on the contrary, according to the private views, and vicious sentiments, suggested by the barbarous passions of any favourite, who manages an arbitrary power, merely by exceptions, inserted into each of these laws, and adapted to facts, in a sense quite contrary to one another. Subtilties thus explained in favour of any oppressor, and intended either to defend their own wickedness, or to persecute the integrity of others: cause the laws to be serviceable only in preserving the mere name of limited power, but, in reality, to secure violences, and to protect the most despicable despotism.

Thus, modesty itself, tired by those secret, but cruel oppressions, and overwhelmed with horror and detestation; will, at last, disclose the truth; and, no less for private safety, than for the wavering security of the human race, lay an open claim to usurped rights, by showing to the world, that unequitable

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conditions, obtained by perfidy, and extorted by violences and fear, are no longer binding, when the restraint of an ungrateful tyrant is removed.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 39. l. 17. *for* as it is, *read*, it is

40. 21. *for* this grievous burden, *read*, a grievous burden

123. 11. *for* all of them appointed, *read*, all appointed

161. 6. *for* court-favourites, *read*, courtiers

228. 15. *for* content, *read*, contents

232. 16. *for* which affords, *read*, which could afford

365. 17. *for* hath rather been, *read*, has been

1